

# THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 13.]

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17TH, 1840.

[PRICE THREEPENCE.

**BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY**  
for the abolition of Slavery and the Slave trade throughout the world.

The ANNUAL MEETING of this Society is to be held in Exeter Hall, on Wednesday the 24th instant,

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF SUSSEX,  
IN THE CHAIR.

The Meeting, it is expected, will be attended by many distinguished philanthropists from various parts of the world, who are to take part in the proceedings.

The doors of the Hall will be opened at Ten, and the chair will be taken at Eleven o'clock, precisely.

J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

Tickets of admission may be obtained on application to Messrs. Harvey and Darton, Gracechurch Street; Edmund Fry, Bishopsgate Street; Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly; J. Nisbet and Co., Berners Street; J. Clarke, 13, Moorgate Street; Joseph Sterry and Son, 156, High Street, Borough; and at the Society's Offices, 27, New Broad Street.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

CONVENTION—June 12th, 1834.

President,

THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq.

Vice-Presidents.

W. T. BLAIR, Esq.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq.

J. G. BIRNEY, Esq.

R. K. GREVILLE, Esq. I. L. D.

Secretaries,

JOHN SCOBLE, Esq.

HENRY B. STANTON, Esq.

REV. THOMAS SCALES.

REV. W. BEVAN.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq.

WILLIAM MORGAN, Esq.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

NAMES OF THE DELEGATES, &c.

FROM WHAT PLACE OR SOCIETY DELEGATED.

1 Dr. S. Lushington, D.C.L.

Member of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

2 Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq.

Ditto

3 William Allen, Esq.

Ditto

4 George Stacey, Esq.

Ditto

5 William Ball, Esq.

Ditto

6 Robert Forster, Esq.

Ditto

7 Josiah Conder, Esq.

Ditto

8 Richard Peek, Esq.

Ditto and delegate from Kingsbridge.

9 Robert Howard, Esq.

Member of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

10 Henry Tuckett, Esq.

Ditto

11 John Beaumont, Esq.

Ditto

12 George Bennet, Esq.

Ditto and delegate from the Congregational Union of England and Wales.

13 Josiah Forster, Esq.

Member of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

14 Rev. John Howard Hinton, A.M.

Ditto

15 Henry Sterry, Esq.

Ditto

16 Joseph Cooper, Esq.

Ditto

17 Stafford Allen, Esq.

Ditto

18 Richard Barrett, Esq.

Ditto

19 Samuel Gurney, Esq.

Ditto

20 Rev. John Woodwark.

Ditto and delegate from the Congregational Union of England and Wales.

21 Rev. John Young, A.M.

Member of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

22 William Taylor, Esq.

Ditto

23 Samuel Fox, Esq.

Ditto

24 Lewis Celeste Lecesne, Esq.

Ditto

NAMES OF THE DELEGATES, &c.

FROM WHAT PLACE OR SOCIETY DELEGATED.

25 Robert Russell, Esq.

Ditto

26 Rev. Thomas Price, D.D.

Ditto

27 Jacob Post, Esq.

Ditto

28 George William Alexander, Esq.

Ditto (Treasurer)

29 John Harfield Tredgold, Esq.

Ditto (Honorary Secretary.)

30 Thomas Clarkson, Esq.

Honorary Corresponding Member of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

31 Joseph Sturge, Esq.

Ditto and delegate from Birmingham and Spanish Town & St. Katharine's, Jamaica.

32 Sir John E. Eardley Wilmot, Bart., M.P.

Hon. Cor. Member of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

33 Sir George Strickland, Bart., M.P.

Ditto

34 Joseph Pease, Jun. Esq., M.P.

Ditto and delegate from Darlington.

35 Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P.

Honorary Corresponding Member of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

36 Rev. Joseph Ketley.

Demerara.

37 R. R. Madden, Esq. M.D.

Hon. Cor. Mem. and delegate from Dublin.

38 Rev. James Mirams.

from Barbice.

39 Rev. H. S. Seaborn.

" Ditto

40 Rev. Giles Forward

" Ditto

41 D. Turnbull, Esq.

Hon. Cor. Member.

42 Mons. S. Lissant.

43 Mr. Justice Jeremie.

44 J. H. Berguin, Esq.

Hon. Cor. Member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

45 M. Dupois.

Ditto

46 Rev. R. Moffatt.

Ditto

47 Rev. John Kennedy.

Ditto

48 Thomas Hodgkin, Esq., M.D.

Aberdeen. } from the  
London. } Aborigines  
Isleworth. } Protection  
London. } Society.

49 Edward Beck, Esq.

Ditto

50 S. Bannister, Esq.

Ditto

51 Robert Bell, Esq.

Ditto

52 Rev. James Morgan.

Belfast.

53 James Standfield, Esq.

Ditto

54 Samuel J. Prescod, Esq.

Barbados.  
Boston; King's Lynn;  
Bourn; Leake; Gos-  
berton; and Lincoln-  
shire Association of  
Baptist Churches.

55 Rev. Thomas Harwood Morgan.

56 Richard Edmonds, Esq.

Banbury.

57 Samuel Beesley, Esq.

Ditto

58 Caleb Clarke, Esq.

Ditto

59 William Bigg, Esq.

Ditto

60 Alfred Beesley, Esq.

Ditto

61 R. Goffe, Esq.

Ditto

62 Henry Martin, Esq.

Brompton.

63 William Busfield, Esq., M. P.

Bradford; York.

64 Ellis Cunliffe Lister, M. P.

Ditto

65 Rev. James Acworth, A. M.

Ditto

66 Rev. C. E. Birt.

Bristol.

67 Joseph Eaton, Esq.

Ditto

68 James Whitehorne, Esq.

Ditto and Jamaica.

69 Joseph Reynolds, Esq.

Bristol.

70 Rev. John Jackson,

Bath.

71 George Dillwyn, Esq.

Ditto

72 W. T. Blair, Esq.

Ditto

73 Captain C. R. Moorsom, R.N.

Birmingham.

74 Rev. Thomas Swan.

Ditto

75 William Boulton, Esq.

Ditto

76 Rev. Thomas Morgan.

Ditto and Midland Baptist Association, and Pembrokeshire Baptist Association.

77 Richard Tapper Cadbury.

Birmingham.

78 Rev. T. M. McDonnell.

Ditto



NAMES OF THE DELEGATES, &c.,	FROM WHAT PLACE OR SOCIETY DELEGATED.	NAMES OF DELEGATES, &c.,	FROM WHAT PLACE OR SOCIETY DELEGATED.
79 William Morgan, Esq.	Ditto, and corresponding Member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.	164 Thomas Evans, Esq.	Hereford.
80 John Sturge, Esq.	Birmingham.	165 Rev. John Pain	Horncastle
81 Rev. John Angell James.	Ditto and Jamaica.	166 Rev. William Upton	{ Associated Churches, Herts. and South Beds.
82 Thomas Pinches, Esq.	Birmingham.	167 Rev. F. W. Gotch, A. B.	Do. do.
83 Sir T. W. Blomfield, Bart.	Brighton.	168 Rev. John Charlesworth, B. D.	Ipswich.
84 Isaac Bass, Esq.	Ditto.	169 Rev. James Sprigg, A. M.	Ditto
85 Daniel Pryor Hack, Esq.	Ditto.	170 R. D. Alexander, Esq.	Ditto
86 Joseph Sams, Esq.	Barnard Castle.	171 Shepherd Ray, Esq.	Ditto
87 Rev. William James.	Bridgewater.	172 Isaac Wilson, Esq.	Kendal.
88 Francis J. Thompson, Esq.	Ditto	173 William Dillworth Crewdson, Esq.	Ditto
89 Rev. W. G. Lewis.	Chatham.	174 Francis Fox, Esq.	Kingsbridge.
90 Rev. P. Thompson.	Ditto	175 W. E. Forster, Esq.	Ditto
91 Joseph Young, Esq.	Ditto	176 Rev. Thomas Scales	{ Leeds and Corresponding Member of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
92 Rev. H. T. Austen.	Colchester.	177 N. P. Simes, Esq.	Leeds.
93 Thomas Catchpool, Esq.	Ditto	178 Robert Jowitt, Esq.	Ditto
94 John A. Fullarton, Esq.	{ Congregational Union of Scotland.	179 William West, Esq.	Ditto
95 Rev. William Lindsay Alexander.	Ditto and Edinburgh.	180 Edward Baines, Esq. M. P.	Ditto
96 Rev. Thomas Pullar.	{ Congregational Union of Scotland and Glasgow.	181 John Dollin Bassett, Esq.	Leighton Buzzard
97 Rev. Daniel White.	Cirencester.	182 Rev. Edward Adey	Ditto
98 John Dixon, Esq. (Mayor)	Carlisle.	183 Isaac Hodgson, Esq.	Leicester.
99 George Head Head, Esq.	Ditto	184 John Ellis, Esq.	Ditto
100 Thomas Sheffield, Esq.	Ditto	185 Thomas Dicker, Esq.	Lewes.
101 Joseph Ferguson, Esq.	Ditto	186 Burword Godlee, Esq.	Ditto
102 John Little, Esq.	Ditto	187 John Cropper, Jun., Esq.	{ Liverpool & Corresponding Member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
103 Captain Wauchope, R.N.	Chelmsford.	188 Alderman Thos. Bulley	Liverpool.
104 Rev. Joseph Gray.	Ditto	189 William Kay, Esq.	Ditto
105 Joseph Marriage, Jun., Esq.	Ditto	190 Richard Rathbone, Esq.	Ditto
106 Charles S. Gray, Esq.	Ditto	191 Rev. Fielding Ould	Ditto
107 John Copland, Jun., Esq.	Ditto	192 Rev. William Bevan	{ Liverpool & Corresponding Member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
108 William C. Wells, Esq.	{ Congregational Union of England and Wales.	193 Joseph Larder, Esq.	Louth.
109 Rev. John Burnet.	Ditto	194 Samuel Southall, Esq.	Leominster.
110 J. B. Brown, Esq., LL.D.	Ditto	195 John Hamilton, Esq.	Margate.
111 John R. Mills, Esq.	{ Baptist Union and Frome.	196 George Fife Angas, Esq.	Newcastle on Tyne.
112 Rev. W. H. Murch, D.D.	Baptist Union.	197 William Beaumont, Esq.	Ditto
113 Rev. Edward Steane	Ditto	198 Thomas Cargill, Esq.	Ditto
114 Rev. Charles Stovel	{ Baptist Churches, of Shakespeare's Walk, and Little Prescott Street.	199 James Finlay, Esq.	Ditto & North Shields.
115 Rev. Timothy Moore	Ditto Ditto	200 Michael Longridge, Esq.	Newcastle on Tyne.
116 William Bowser, Esq.	Blackburn	201 William Mande, Esq.	Ditto
117 James Cunliffe, Esq.	University of Durham.	202 Jonathan Priestman, Esq.	Ditto
118 Professor Johnstone.	Darlington.	203 George Richardson, Esq.	Ditto
119 Jonathan Backhouse, Esq.	Ditto	204 Samuel Fox, Esq.	Nottingham.
120 Joseph Pease, Sen., Esq.	Ditto	205 William Wilson, Esq.	Ditto
121 Henry Pease, Esq.	Ditto	206 Rev. William Brock	Norfolk and Norwich.
122 Robert Longdon, Esq.	Derby.	207 William Forster, Esq.	Ditto
123 William Williamson, Esq.	Ditto	208 Thomas Bignold, Esq.	Ditto
124 John Steer, Esq.	Ditto	209 Jeremiah Colman, Esq.	Ditto
125 Rev. J. H. Johnson, M. A.	Devizes	210 Thomas Bartlett, Esq.	Baptist Church, Oxford.
126 Rev. Richard Elliott	Ditto	211 Rev. B. Godwin	Ditto
127 George W. Anstie, Esq.	Ditto	212 Francis Barker, Esq.	Pontefract.
128 Daniel O'Connell, Esq. M. P.	Dublin and Glasgow.	213 Edward Ross, Esq.	Rochester and Chatham.
129 William Torrens McCullagh, Esq.	Dublin.	214 Robert Styles, Esq.	Ditto
130 James H. Webb, Esq.	Ditto	215 William Tatum, Esq.	Ditto
131 James Haughton, Esq.	Ditto	216 John Barfitt, Esq.	Salisbury.
132 Richard D. Webb, Esq.	Ditto	217 Rev. Alexander Harvey	{ Relief Synod of Scotland.
133 James Webb, Esq.	Ditto	218 Rev. Robert Govett,	Staines.
134 Thomas Webb, Esq.	Ditto	219 Rev. Rippon Porter,	Ditto.
135 Richard Allen, Esq.	Ditto	220 Rev. Gregory Hawson,	Ditto.
136 Rev. Samuel M'All	Doncaster.	221 Thomas Ashby, Jun. Esq.,	Ditto.
137 Rev. Christopher Anderson	Edinburgh.	222 William Fairbank, Esq.,	Sheffield.
138 William Cairns, Esq.	Ditto	223 Edward Smith, Esq.,	Ditto.
139 John Dunlop, Esq.	Ditto	224 Frederick Wheeler, Esq.,	Rochester, & Chatham.
140 R. K. Greville, Esq. LL.D.	Ditto	225 Samuel Wheeler, Esq.,	Ditto.
141 William Sommerville Esq.	Ditto	226 W. C. Horsnail, Esq.,	Ditto.
142 George Thompson, Esq.	Ditto and Glasgow.	227 Henry Wyatt, Esq.,	Stroud.
143 John Wigham, Esq.	Glasgow.	228 A. R. Fewster, Esq.,	Ditto.
144 William Lee, Esq.	Exeter.	229 Joseph Clark, Esq.,	Southampton.
145 Thomas Truslade Sparkes, Esq.	Ditto	230 George Laishley, Esq.,	Ditto.
146 William P. Paton, Esq.	Glasgow.	231 Joseph Metford, Esq.,	Ditto.
147 Robert Kettle, Esq.	Ditto	232 Edward Palk, Esq.,	Ditto.
148 Henry Langland, Esq.	Ditto	233 Rev. Bourne Hall Draper,	Ditto.
149 Anthony M'Keand, Esq.	Ditto	234 Thomas Dennis Paul, Esq.	St. Ives, Herts.
150 William White Esq.	Ditto	235 Joseph Goodman, Esq.,	Ditto.
151 Rev. Dr. Heugh	Ditto	236 Potto Brown, Esq.,	Ditto.
152 Rev. John Graham	Ditto	237 Chas. James Metcalfe, Jun., Esq.,	St. Neot's.
153 Rev. William Anderson	Ditto	238 Frederick Backhouse, Esq.,	Stockton-on-Tees.
154 John Murray, Esq.	Ditto	239 William Bayley, Esq.	Ditto
155 William Smeal, Esq.	Ditto and Paisley.	240 Henry Holland, Esq.	Spilsby.
156 James Francillon, Esq.	Gloucester.	241 Rev. Jesse Hewitt,	Tewkesbury.
157 Samuel Bowly, Esq.	Ditto	242 Rev. James Cottle,	Taunton.
158 Rev. J. W. Wayne	Hitchin.	243 John Young, Esq.,	Ditto
159 W. Langford, Esq.	Ditto	244 John Budge, Esq.,	Truro.
160 Joseph Sharples, Esq.	Ditto	245 Rev. Enoch Williams, M.A.,	Worcester.
161 William Lucas, Jun. Esq.	Ditto	246 Edward Evans, Esq.,	Ditto.
162 Henry Lawson Esq.	Hereford.	247 Stanley Pumphrey, Esq.,	Ditto.
163 John Benbow, Esq.	Ditto		





NAMES OF DELEGATES, &c.	FROM WHAT PLACE OR SOCIETY DELEGATE D.	NAMES OF DELEGATES, &c.	FROM WHAT PLACE OR SOCIETY DELEGATED.
248 Rev. H. Taylor,	Woodbridge.	328 Herbert Beaver, Esq.	
249 R. W. Dixon, Esq.,	Witham.	329 R. H. Schomburgh, Esq.	
250 Thomas Butler, Esq.,	Ditto.	330 Isaac Winslow, Esq.	Massachusetts.
251 Jacob H. Pattison, Esq.,	Ditto.	331 W. H. Ashurst, Esq.	Darlington.
252 Joseph Miller, Esq.,	Whitehaven.	332 Mr. Commissary Wemyss,	Edinburgh.
253 Rev. Hugh Anderson,	Ditto.	333 John Fulton, Esq.	Fenwick.
254 Rev. John Graham,	York.	334 Edward Briggs, Esq.	Maidstone.
255 Samuel Tuke, Esq.,	Ditto.	335 Richard Moorsom, Esq.	Ditto.
256 Joseph Johnson, Esq.,	Farnham.	336 Matthew Shepperson.	Bungay.
257 Francis B. Beamish, Esq., M.P.	Cork.	337 Charles Hill, Esq.	Wellingborough.
258 William Martin, Esq.	Ditto.	338 William Bearn, Esq.	Ditto.
259 Honble. J. T. Norton,	Connecticut, U.S.A.	339 Edward Baldwin, Esq.	Dublin.
260 Professor William Adam,	Massachusetts, U. S. A.	340 Andrew White, Esq., M.P.	Sunderland.
261 James Canning Fuller, Esq.,	New York State.	341 Rev. James Hoby, D.D.	Aberdeen.
262 Gerrit Smith, Esq.,	Ditto.	342 Alexander M'Donald, Esq.	Ditto.
263 T. S. Wright, Esq.,	Ditto.		{ Bucks Association of
264 A. Stewart, Esq.,	Ditto.	343 Rev. H. H. Dobney.	{ Baptist Churches.
265 B. Green, Esq.,	Ditto.		{ Mare Street Chapel
266 J. McCune Smith, Esq.,	Ditto.		{ Congregation.
267 Rev. Elon Galusha,	{ Baptist Convention,	344 Rev. F. A. Cox, D.D. LL.D.	Ditto.
268 Rev. Cyrus Pitt Grosvenor,	America.	345 Henry Gamble, Esq.	Ditto.
269 Rev. Nathaniel Colver,	Ditto.	346 John Middleton Hare, Esq.	Ditto.
270 Col. Jonathan P. Miller,	{ Ditto and Massachusetts	347 Rev. William Groser.	{ West Kent and Sussex
271 Professor James Dean,	Abolition Society.		{ Association of Baptist
272 James G. Birney, Esq.,	Vermont.	348 Rev. P. J. Saffery.	Churches.
273 Henry B. Stanton,	Ditto.	349 William Pryor Read, Esq.	Ditto Ditto.
274 Dr. Thomas Rolph,	{ Amer. Anti-Slavery So-	350 Francis Donaldson, Esq.	Maldon.
275 Rev. Wm. Knibb,	ciety and New York	351 Richard Davison, Esq.	
276 Mr. Edward Barrett,	ditto.	352 John Scoble, Esq.	Newark.
277 Mr. Henry Beckford,	Upper Canada.	353 William Foster, Esq.	Ditto.
278 Wm. Wemyss Anderson, Esq.,	{ Baptist Western Union,	354 John Gibbard, Esq.	Westerham.
279 Captain Charles Stuart,	Jamaica.	355 Henry George, Esq.	Ditto.
280 Rev. John Clarke,	Ditto.	356 John Edgar, Esq.	Ditto.
281 Abraham Crowley, Esq.,	{ Kingston & St. Kathe-	357 Robert Douglas, Jun. Esq.	Philadelphia.
282 Wm. Curtis, Jun., Esq.,	rine's, Jamaica.	358 William Lloyd Garrison, Esq.	Massachusetts.
283 Stephen Unwin, Esq.,	{ Jamaica Anti-Slavery	359 Wendell Phillips, Esq.	Ditto.
284 Samuel King, Esq.,	Society.	360 Henry G. Chapman, Esq.	Ditto.
285 Wm. Connell, Esq.,	{ Kingston & St. Kathe-	361 John T. Hilton, Esq.	Ditto.
286 Arthur Atkins, Esq.,	rine's, Jamaica, and	362 Ellis Gray Loring, Esq.	Ditto.
287 Norton S. Townshend, Esq., M.D.	Berwick-on-Tweed.	363 Francis Jackson, Esq.	Ditto.
288 Dr. John Bowring,	Alton.	364 Samuel Philbrick, Esq.	Ditto.
289 Wm. Robinson, Esq.,	Ditto.	365 Andrew Robeson, Esq.	Ditto.
290 John G. Whittier, Esq.	{ Coggeshall, Kelvedon	366 Samuel Rodman, Esq.	Ditto.
291 James Mott, Esq.*	and Colne.	367 Rev. Samuel J. May,	Ditto.
292 Rev. H. Grew,	Cork.	368 Seth Sprague, Esq.	Ditto.
293 J. Motley, Esq.,	Ditto.	369 George P. Davis, Esq.	Ditto.
294 Geo. H. Stuart, Esq.,	Coventry.	370 Nathaniel Barney, Esq.	Ditto.
295 Geo. Bruburn, Esq.,	{ Anti-Slavery Society,	371 Benjamin B. Wiffen, Esq.	Woburn, Beds.
296 J. D. Burder, Esq.,	State of Ohio.	372 David Lee Child, Esq.	Massachusetts.
297 Joseph Balfour, Esq.	Exeter.	373 William Bassett, Esq.,	Ditto.
298 Rev. John Jefferson,	Kettering.	374 Amos Farnsworth, Esq.,	Ditto.
299 Cornelius Hanbury, Esq.,	Eastern Pennsylvania.	375 J. N. Barbour, Esq.,	Ditto.
300 Bayley Kingdon, Esq.,	Ditto.	376 N. B. Border, Esq.,	Ditto.
301 Robert R. R. Moore, Esq., B.A.,	{ Ditto, and Amer. Free	377 John Smith, Esq.,	Ditto.
302 Robert Grahame, Esq.,	Produce Society.	378 David Shaw, Esq.,	Huddersfield.
303 Thomas Grahame, Esq.,	Street and Glastonbury.	379 Rev. George Evans,	London Itinerant Society.
304 George Thorburn, Esq.,	Philadelphia.	380 Thomas Livesey, Esq.,	Ditto.
305 Hugh Brown, Esq.,	Massachusetts.		{ Corresponding Member of
306 Walter Buchanan, Esq.,	Braintree.	381 Sir C. E. Smith, Bart.,	{ the British and Foreign
307 Francis C. Brown, Esq.,	Ditto.		{ Anti-Slavery Society.
308 Alexander Johnstone, Esq.,	Stoke Newington.	382 Richard Musgrave, Esq.	
309 James Hutcheson, Esq.,		383 Zinna Hyde, Esq.,	Bath, Maine, U. S. A.
310 Henry Dunlop, Esq.,	Dublin.	384 Henry Crowley, Esq.,	Alton.
311 John Dennistoun, Esq., M.P.	Glasgow.	385 William Bowly, Esq.,	Cirencester.
312 James Oswald, Esq. M.P.	Ditto.	386 Thomas Sheppard, Esq., M.P.,	Frome.
313 Rev. John Birt.	Ditto.	387 John Ridley, Esq.,	Ipswich.
314 Rev. John Waddington.	Ditto.	388 Rev. J. Bennett,	Northampton.
315 Isaac Crewdson, Esq.	Ditto.	389 A. V. Hittie,	Mauritius.
316 Joseph Crewdson, Esq.	Ditto.	390 John Wilkinson, Esq.,	Whitehaven.
317 Peter Clare, Esq.	Ditto.	391 Rev. Charles Darkin,	{ Oxford Association of
318 Thomas P. Bunting, Esq.	Ditto.	392 Rev. Manoah Kent,	{ Baptist Churches.
319 William Brand, Esq.	Ditto.	393 Monsieur Claude Faure,	Shropshire do. do.
320 Nathaniel Morgan, Esq.	Ditto.	394 Dr. F. Tritten,	
321 Rev. William Jones.	Ditto.	395 William Leatham, Esq.,	Wakefield.
322 Joseph T. Price, Esq.	Ditto.	396 William Henry Leatham, Esq.,	Ditto.
323 Rev. Dr. Matheson.	{ Staffordshire Association	397 Charles James Metcalfe, Sen. Esq.	St. Neots.
324 Rev. Charles Edwards Lester,	of Congregational Min-	398 — Jukes, Esq.,	Ditto.
325 Rev. R. J. King, B.A.	isters.	399 Jeremiah Spencer, Esq.,	Cockermouth.
326 Henry Leach, Esq.	{ Bleeker Street Church,	400 Rev. J. H. Muir,	Spalding.
327 William Holmes, Esq.	Utica, U.S.A.	401 Joseph Rutter, Esq.	Uxbridge.
	Wisbeach.	402 Isaac Braithwaite, Esq.,	Kendal.
	Ditto.	403 Hon. Seth Sprague,	Massachusetts.
	Ditto.	404 Edward S. Tobey, Esq.,	U. S. A. Abolition Society.
		405 Edward A. Crouch, Esq.,	Penzance.
		406 Thomas Fisher, Esq., M.D.,	Dublin.
		407 C. Buller, Jun., Esq., M.P.,	Liskeard.
		408 William Brown, Jun., Esq.,	North Shields.
		409	
		410 Thomas T. Clarke, Esq.,	Uxbridge.
		411 Sir W. S. Wiseman, Bart.,	Ditto.
		412 Peter Bedford, Esq.,	Croydon.]
		413 Henry Aggs, Esq.,	Ditto.
		414 S. H. Lucas, Esq.,	Ditto.
		415 Richard Sterry, Esq.,	Ditto.
		416 James Clements, Esq.,	Bishop Stortford.

\* Erroneously stated in a former number to be a member of the Society of Friends.



NAMES OF DELEGATES, &c.	FROM WHAT PLACE OR SOCIETY DELEGATED.
417 Rev. W. Chaplin,	Bishop Stortford
418 John Carr, Esq.,	
419 John Wade, Esq.,	Midland Bapt. Association.
420 Captain Dougall, R.N.,	Montrose.
421 George Gull, Esq.,	Ditto.
422 Rev. Thomas Binney,	{ Congregational Ministers and Churches, Isle of Wight.
423 James Midgeley, Esq.,	Rochdale.
424 Dr. George K. Prince, (of Jamaica,)	Chesterfield.
425 Rev. John Keep,	Ohio, U.S.A.
426 William Dawes, Esq.,	Ditto.
427 Rev. J. K. Holland,	St. Ives.
428 Joshua Wilson, Esq.,	{ Congregational Union of England and Wales.
429 J. F. Walters, Esq., M. D.	
430 Mark Moore, Esq.,	Glasgow
431 Senor Luis de Usosy Rio,	Madrid
432 Robert Crewdson, Esq.,	Manchester.
433 B. R. Haydon, Esq.,	
434 Thomas Spencer, Esq.,	
435 Rev. Jonah Reeve,	Wigton.
436 William M'Murray, Esq.,	Edinburgh.
437 Robert Barclay Fox, Esq.,	Falmouth.
438 Rev. William Gray,	{ Northampton Baptist Association.
439 John C. Gotch, Esq.,	Ditto
440 George Cave, Esq.,	Ditto
441 Richard Darby, Esq.,	Colebrook Dale
442 William Struthers, Esq.,	{ United Associate Synod. of Scotland.
443 Richard Sorton Darby, Esq.,	Colebrook Dale
444 James Oliver, Esq.,	Ditto
445 John Burt, Esq.,	Sutton in Ashfield
446 Rev. G. B. Kidd,	{ Macclesfield Congregational Churches.
447 Rev. Edmund Hull,	{ Watford Congregational Church.
448 Isaac Stickney, Esq.,	Scarborough.
449 William Brooks, Esq.,	
450 Lieut. Charles Lapidge, R. N.,	
451 Lieut. Charles Fitzgerald, R. N.,	
452 M. M. Isambert, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Judge of the Court of Cassation, Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, Secretary of the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery.	Paris.
453 MM. Alcide Lauré, Member of the French Society,	Paris.
454 Senor de Simonde,	
455 Rev. W. F. Poile,	{ Baptist Church, Keppel Street.
456 John Jowitt, Jun., Esq.	Leeds.
457 John Whitwell, Esq.	Kendal.
458 J. J. Wilson, Esq.	Ditto
459 Edward Crewdson, Esq.	Ditto
460 Abraham Beaumont, Esq.	
461 Rev. James Carille	Bradford, Wilts.
462 Rev. Charles Ingle, A. M.	Osbalwick.
463 Colonel Campbell	
464 Arthur T. Holroyd, Esq.	
465 Edward N. Buxton, Esq.	Weymouth
466 Rev. J. M. Trewell, Esq.	Ditto
467 Captain Cook	Ditto
468 R. J. Mackintosh, Esq.	
469 Captain Washington, R. N.	
470 Robert M'Curdy, Esq.	{ Temperance Anti-Slavery Society.
471 William Oxley, Esq., M. D.	Ditto ditto.
472 Isaac Lloyd, Esq.	Dorchester
473 Josiah Messer, Esq.	Tottenham
474 Thomas Thompson, Esq.,	Taunton.
476 Peter John Bassett, Esq.,	{ Corresponding Member of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
476 Joseph Phelps Robinson, Esq.,	Dublin.
477 Joseph S. Brown, Esq.,	Isleworth.
478 Robert Stock, Esq.,	{ Baptist Church, Keppel Street.
479 David Allan, Esq.,	{ United Associate Synod of Scotland.
480 John Crosfield, Esq.,	Liverpool.
481 Rev. John Campbell,	{ Tabernacle & Tottenham Court Road Chapels.
482 Rev. J. M. Trew, A.M.,	Truro.
483 Rev. M. Davis,	Haverfordwest.
484 M. M. de St. Authoine,	Paris.
485 M. M. Cordier, Member of the Chamber of Deputies.	Ditto.
486 Rev. James Atkins,	Northampton.

NAMES OF THE DELEGATES, &c.	FROM WHAT PLACE OR SOCIETY DELEGATED.
487 Sir Chas. Style, M.P.,	
488 William Ewart, Esq., M.P.,	
489 J. Brotherton, M.P.,	Manchester and Salford.
490 Rev. James Edwards,	Brighton.
491 Charles Fox, Esq.,	
492 Rev. J. Burton,	Falmouth, Jamaica.
493 Thomas Wilson,	Kendall.

## ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

FRIDAY, JUNE 12th, 1840.

THE convention pursuant to announcement, commenced its sittings at Freemason's Hall, this morning. The internal arrangement of the Hall was most judicious, and reflected the highest credit on the committee to whom it was confided. A few minutes before eleven o'clock, the body of the hall was fully occupied with the delegates, the attendance of whom was very numerous; while the upper end and one side of it were appropriate to ladies, a considerable number of whom were present, and among whom several female abolitionists from the United States were conspicuous.

W. T. BLAIR, Esq. (of Bath) rose and said, Our venerable friend—Thomas Clarkson Esq. will shortly enter the room. I am requested to suggest, in consideration of the infirm state of his health, that there would be no feeling of popular approbation on his entrance. Perhaps the most acceptable way in which he can be received, will be by the company standing.

THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq. then entered the room, leaning on the arms of W. D. Crewdson, Esq. and J. Sturge, Esq. and accompanied by his daughter-in-law and grandson.

WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq. said, I have been requested by the committee to propose to this numerous and respectable assembly, that our venerable and venerated friend, Thomas Clarkson, Esq., be chairman of this convention.

J. G. BIRNEY, Esq. (of New York) seconded the motion, which was put and agreed to, after a short pause of silence.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq. then rose and said, Those who have known our dear friend who sits in the chair only by the unimpaired vigour and intellect which he exhibited in the cause of the negro in former years, can little estimate his present bodily infirmities. But it was the earnest, the unanimous wish of the committee, that he should be present on this interesting occasion, and preside over us. I am sure it is only those who are acquainted with the indisposition he has suffered for the last few years, who can duly feel the cause we have for gratitude, that we are favoured to have him amongst us, even for a short period, now that he has arrived at upwards of eighty years of age. On the last occasion on which he appeared in public, except the one when he received in Guildhall the freedom of the City of London, he was so overcome by the heat of the room, and the applause of the audience, that he was unable to proceed with his address. But I hope the kind and delicate manner in which our friends have avoided all expressions of approbation, will prevent him suffering from the same source on this occasion. He will feel that he is surrounded by his friends. The committee who have had the management of the meeting, were particularly anxious to afford every warm friend of the cause, an opportunity of being present at this convention; nevertheless they have found it necessary to be very particular in adhering to the rule by which they issued the tickets, lest they should give offence. But I am sure they will not be accused of improper partiality, in having made an exception in one or two particular cases at the request of the chairman. I allude to one exception, for the purpose of introducing to the meeting my young friend who stands beside me, and who is the only living representative of our venerable chairman who bears his name. I hope I shall not be wounding, in the slightest degree, the delicacy of his widowed mother, in saying, that it is the dearest wish of her heart that her beloved and darling child should devote his life to the cause in which our dear friend has now worked for more than half a century. It is an interesting fact, which I did not know till last night, that this is the birth-day of the youthful Thomas Clarkson, who is now nine years of age. I believe that in venturing to give expression to the prayer of my heart that the blessing of God may rest upon him, and that with the descent of the mantle of his venerable and venerated ancestor, a double portion of his spirit may rest upon him, it will be responded to by my friends who surround me. When many of us are removed to that bourne, where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest, and where the distinctions of clime and colour will be swept away for ever, may he see that the Divine blessing has rested upon our exertions, and behold that happy day when the sun shall cease to rise upon a tyrant, or set upon a slave!

The venerable chairman then rose and said, my dear friends I stand before you as a humble individual whose life has been most intimately connected with the subject which you are met this day to consider. I was formerly under providence the originator, and am now unhappily the only surviving member, of the committee which was first instituted in this country in the year 1787, for the abolition of the slave-trade. My dear friend and fellow labourer, Mr. Wilberforce, who was one of them, is, as you know, dead; and here I may say of him, that there never was a man either dead or living to whom your cause was more indebted than to him. My dear friend and fellow labourer, William Smith, the late member for Norwich, who was another of them, is dead also, by whose indefatigable exertions for nearly fifty years, both in and out of parliament, it was most vigorously supported. As to the rest of the committee, Samuel Hoare, William Dilwyn, George Harrison, Richard Phillips, and the other dear friends whose names I am sorry that I cannot at this moment recollect, these also are all dead, and gone no doubt to their eternal rest. My dear friends, I was invited many months ago to be at this meeting, but old age and infirmities, being lame and nearly blind, and besides being otherwise seriously affected at times, gave me no hope of attending. At length I have been permitted to come among you; and I rejoice in it, if I were only allowed to say in this place, in reference to your future labours: Take courage, be not dismayed, go on, persevere to the last; you will always have pleasure from the thought of having done so. I myself can say with truth, that though my body is fast going to decay, my heart beats as warmly in this sacred cause, now in the 81st year of my age, as it did at the age of 24, when I first took it up. And I can say further with truth, that if I had another life given me to live, I would devote it to the same



object. So far for your encouragement and perseverance. My dear friends, you have a most difficult task to perform; it is neither more nor less than the extirpation of slavery from the whole world. Your opponents who appear the most formidable, are the cotton and other planters in the southern parts of the United States; who, I am grieved to say, hold more than two millions of their fellow-creatures in the most cruel bondage. Now we know of these men, that they are living in the daily habits of injustice, cruelty, and oppression, and may be therefore said to have no true fear of God, nor any just sense of religion. You cannot therefore expect to have the same hold upon the consciences of these as you have upon the consciences of others. How then can you get at these so as to influence their conduct. There is but one way; you must endeavour to make them feel their guilt in its consequences. You must endeavour by all justifiable means to affect their temporal interests. You must endeavour among other things to have the produce of free tropical labour brought into the markets of Europe, and undersell them there, and if you can do this, your victory is sure. I have only now to say, may the supreme ruler of all human events, at whose disposal are not only the hearts but the intellects of men, may He in his abundant mercy, guide your councils, and give his blessing upon your labours.

Mr. W. D. CREWSON said, It is of very great importance to the comfort of our venerable president that the solemn feeling which has been over the meeting should be continued whilst we are favoured with his presence. I trust, that by the exercise of this feeling he may be permitted to remain with us longer than he now anticipates. I should be sorry if he stayed to weary or oppress him, but for a few minutes it may be interesting to him to see what is the course which this meeting intends to pursue in the prosecution of its important labours. In the first place, I have to introduce to the meeting a communication from Lord Brougham, on whom two gentlemen with myself waited yesterday to inform him as an old, a very active, and a powerful friend of the cause in which we are now interested, of what was going forward, and to request of him if it were possible, even for a few minutes only to give his attendance at this meeting. I am sorry to say, that the state of his health and the depression of his spirits consequent on domestic affliction are such, that he thinks it necessary to decline; but he sent a letter last night, addressed to me, which I will request our friend the Rev. T. Scales to read to the meeting.

The Rev. T. SCALES then read the following letter:—

House of Lords, Thursday.

Gentlemen,—I am much honoured by the request which you have made to me through your deputation this morning, that I would attend the meeting of delegates to-morrow; and I assure you that it is very painful for me to be under the necessity of refusing. But the state of my health has been such for some time past that I am barely able to discharge those duties in this place from which I cannot withdraw, and I have been compelled to lay down a rule against going to any public meeting whatever. Of all the instances in which I have been obliged to follow this rule, there is no one which has given me greater pain; for I need hardly say how deeply I feel interested in whatever concerns the great cause which brings you together. I earnestly hope that all your proceedings may be guided by the same wisdom and animated by the same zeal which have from the earliest period of the controversy been displayed by the friends of humanity and justice; and I trust that, under the blessing of Providence continued to their exertions, our earnest desires may finally be crowned with success. I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your faithful and humble servant,

BROUGHAM.

To the committee of management of delegates.

Mr. W. D. CREWSON resumed. The next subject which I have to bring before the meeting is the appointment of vice-presidents, in order to relieve our venerable chairman. It was thought necessary in this early stage of the business to be provided with those who should efficiently occupy the chair, and considering the extent of labour which is likely to rest upon them, the committee have thought it expedient to propose four gentlemen, whose names I shall now submit to this meeting for their consideration, and I trust, their adoption. I beg leave, therefore, to move—

"That William Thomas Blair, Esq., of Bath, Joseph Sturge, Esq., of Birmingham, James Gillespie Birney, Esq., of New York, and Robert Kaye Greville, LL.D., of Edinburgh, be requested to become vice-chairmen of this convention."

Mr. G. BRADBURN, (of Massachusetts) seconded the motion, which was put and agreed to.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., announced that Mr. Henry Grew, was commissioned to present a book to their venerable chairman, which he was anxious to fulfil before they proceeded to other business.

Mr. HENRY GREW said, It is with emotions which no language can describe, that I proceed to the discharge of a duty very interesting to myself, and I trust to all who are present. I have to present to our venerated and respected chairman, a memorial of the high regard which the friends of liberty in the western world entertain for his benevolent services in a cause dear to humanity. It consists of a book, containing a history of the Pennsylvania Hall. The hall was erected by the friends of liberty, for the advocacy of the general principles of free discussion on all subjects, but especially on the great topic of human rights. On the 14th of May, 1838, it was opened and consecrated to virtue, liberty, and independence. We hoped that it would have stood till the jubilee of universal emancipation should have cheered a regenerated world. But in the inscrutable counsels of infinite wisdom, it was otherwise ordained. On the evening of the 17th of the same month it was destroyed by a mob, instigated and infuriated by that demon spirit of slavery which has cursed the world. I am charged by my friend, Samuel West, of Philadelphia, one of the managers of Pennsylvania Hall, to present this volume. Considering the state of health of our dearly beloved and venerable friend, and the value of your time, I shall not now enter into a detail of the circumstances of this catastrophe. I will only express a hope, in which I shall be joined by millions of kindred spirits in the old world and in the new, that the declining days of our venerable friend may be crowned, and blessed, and consummated by the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, and that he may then have an abundant entrance ministered unto him into that temple into which the powers of darkness shall never be able to enter, but where the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb shall be the glory.

The Rev. W. KNINN, at the request of Mr. Sturge, next addressed the meeting. I will only claim your indulgence for one moment. I beg to

present, on behalf of 300,000 emancipated slaves in the island of Jamaica, the only tribute which they have to give, but which I am sure is the best tribute they could give—to my venerated father, Thomas Clarkson, Esq., namely, the propriety of their conduct since they have been made men. I did not expect that I should have been permitted to address the assembly and thus publicly to return thanks to one whom I shall ever respect and admire. I have an engraving of a view of one of our chapels in Jamaica, in which the first anti-slavery meeting was held in that beloved island. If I had been aware of this opportunity, I would have presented it publicly to our venerated chairman, but I shall now forward it privately on behalf of those whom I formerly knew as slaves, but whom I now know as free men, rising in intelligence, and exhibiting to the world that propriety of conduct which has won for the emancipated sons and daughters of Africa universal admiration.

Mr. J. TREDGOLD then read the summons of the convention.

Mr. GEORGE STACEY (of London,) said, I have been unexpectedly called to move the following resolution:—

"That the following gentlemen be invited to act as secretaries during this convention, John Scoble, Esq., Henry Brewster Stanton, Esq., Rev. Thomas Scales, Rev. William Bevan, Wendell Phillips, Esq., and William Morgan, Esq."

The Rev. J. BURNET, in seconding the resolution, said,—It is of great importance that we should have efficient, devoted, and persevering secretaries. No society can go on well without such secretaries, and the individuals that are now proposed have proved their perfect competency to carry on the work which is to be committed to their hands. I have been very much pleased with the way in which this meeting has opened—its proceedings augur well for the future circumstances connected with the movements of this society. I have been pleased with the readiness with which they have taken the hint thrown out to them respecting your own feelings, sir, and your own age. I have been pleased to find that in the midst of all the ardour and devotedness which they feel in common with myself to the anti-slavery cause, they are yet able so to control that ardour, and that devotedness, as to prove that they can act with the cool deliberation of men; while they can, at the same time, when need requires, display all the emotion of individuals whose every feeling is enlisted in this great cause. I trust that this great mark of self-control will pervade all the proceedings of this convention to its close. I trust that there will be found no individual who will not be ready to feel that he is embarked in a great cause, in the presence of which every personality must sink, and every passion must die, except the passion of a well directed, a burning, but a wisely controlled zeal for the great object we have in view. I do trust that we shall have reason at the close of this convention, to congratulate ourselves, and to congratulate you, that at the evening of your life, you have come surrounded by the recollections of many long years to give the sanction of your presence and your opinions to such a great and interesting object. I trust that the meeting at large will take a lesson from the appearance you have made here to-day—associating with your weakness of body all that energy of mind which has long distinguished your career, and which, I trust, will long distinguish those to whom you have commended a similar course.

The resolution having been put and carried unanimously.

The Rev. THOMAS SCALES rose and said, I feel that the office to which in common with several other gentlemen, you have been pleased to call me, is one of considerable labour, but of still greater responsibility, and I feel exceedingly anxious that we may be assisted with all that is requisite to enable us rightly and faithfully to discharge its duties. One of our members, Mr. Scoble, to whom the cause owes so much, is prevented by severe, personal, and domestic indisposition from being with us this morning, but I hope that in a day or two he will unite with us in our important engagements. I am also to intimate that of the secretaries which have now been appointed by you, two of our friends are from America. Mr. Stanton is known as the secretary of that great society which is acting there under the blessing of heaven with so much order and such promising results; and Mr. Phillips is well known as a devoted advocate of this great cause who has consecrated the energies of his heart and mind to the great object for which we are associated. I hope that by your forbearance and sympathy, and assistance from on high, we shall discharge the duty committed to us in such a way as to subserve the great end for which we are come together in this convocation.

Mr. J. MOTT (of Philadelphia,) moved that the following gentlemen be appointed a press committee to superintend the publication of the reports of the convention. Messrs. John Beaumont, J. H. Tredgold, Joseph Cooper, and Henry Tuckett.

The Rev. J. A. JAMES, (of Birmingham,) in seconding the resolution said, this is a motion of mere formal business, which precludes me, even if I were disposed and able, from addressing the meeting at any length. I cannot, however, avoid expressing the ineffable honour which I really feel it, to second a resolution on such a subject as this, which has been moved by one of the delegates from America, and which places me in juxtaposition with the friends on that side the Atlantic in this great and noble cause. I also feel it an honour to second a resolution which is to be put to this meeting by yourself. I would simply express my prayer that this society, which I rejoice you have lived long enough to witness, may be the evening star of your life, and the morning star of that dear youth, who, I trust, will stand before the public as your representative in this cause long after you have gone to your eternal rest.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON rose and said. However my heart may throb to give expression to those sentiments, which the grand objects of this meeting, and the presence of the champions of human rights from all sections of the globe, and those irresistibly touching scenes upon which our eyes have gazed to day, for the first and for the last time, are calculated naturally to inspire in my bosom, and in yours, this is not the stage of the proceedings of this convention at which it would be good taste to occupy much time in the submission of any resolution, because the resolutions are at present quite preliminary, and have reference to that business which will afford us the opportunity, by and by, of largely expressing our views upon all those topics that are connected with the interests of that cause in which we are embarked. But for the information of the venerable chairman, I would say he has before him on this occasion, not only the tried and trusty friends of human liberty in this kingdom, but he has before him, on either side of him, and in the distance, those who have not only laboured, but



suffered and sacrificed more than language can express, in this same cause in the western hemisphere of our world. Ere he retires, I am anxious that he should feel that his advice, his counsel, and his energy are appreciated most deeply by those who have been permitted this day to behold him for the first time. I am sure that our friends on the other side of the Atlantic would depart inspired and encouraged by the words of comfort which have been addressed to them from the chair. I trust that the example which you have set us, of dedicating our children and our grandchildren to the cause of freedom, will be followed by all who have wept tears of emotion over the scene we have witnessed this day. I heartily unite in the expressions which have already fallen from the lips of preceding speakers, hoping that our future deliberations, while they are characterised by the highest principle, and by the greatest fervour, may at the same time be characterised by good taste, and christian forbearance, and that wisdom which is profitable to direct. (Mr. Thompson then submitted a series of resolutions, which were seconded by the Rev. N. Calver, but as some of them were not fully approved of, it being thought that they would tend to limit the freedom of discussion, they were amended and carried in the following form.

That the following regulations for conducting the business of this convention be now adopted:—

"1.—That this convention do sit twice in each day, commencing at Ten o'clock in the morning, and at Four o'clock in the afternoon, and that the vice-chairmen be requested to preside alternately, in the absence of the president.

"2.—That all original papers, propositions, and resolutions be submitted in writing to the secretaries, the day before it is proposed to introduce them, and all amendments and propositions arising out of business under discussion, be submitted to the chairman in writing at the time.

"3.—That the secretaries be instructed to report at the close of each day to the chairman, the subjects upon which it is proposed that information shall the next day be communicated to the convention, and that such subjects shall be regularly disposed of before any other matter be introduced.

"4.—That as occasions may arise, Committees shall be appointed to draft addresses, prepare resolutions, &c. &c., to be passed through the hands of the secretaries to the chairman.

"5.—That no member of convention shall be allowed to speak twice on the same subject, except in explanation; or the opener, by way of conclusion in reply.

"6.—That all documents shall be signed by the chairman.

"7.—That all letters and documents addressed to this convention or to the chairman, be referred to the secretaries.

"8.—That no fresh business be introduced after Two o'clock, P. M."

DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq., M. P. at the desire of the chairman, next addressed the meeting. I feel, said the honourable and learned gentleman, that it would be impossible to resist such a request. It is to me a sacred command. I should not detain this highly respectable meeting many seconds, if one idea were not impressed on my mind. It is this,—Much has been done by Great Britain in the cause of our coloured brethren. Their emancipation was a great and majestic act, and it has been followed by consequences, which, if you looked at them alone, have been of the utmost value to humanity. Under the British flag, with the exception of the East Indies, slavery no longer exists; and those who were compelled heretofore to labour for the advantage of others, now labour for their own, their wives, their children, and their families. It would be quite impossible to exaggerate what has been done. You have struck off the fetters from 800,000 human beings; from the rank of slaves you have made them free; but then you have not done all—there remains much yet to be effected. Even your benevolence and humanity has left a larger blot than before upon the escutcheon of human nature. You have left behind you the slave-trade, and emancipation has multiplied it. You have come together for the very purpose of doing away with the injury inflicted on Africa, not by your efforts, but by the avarice of others. You are not responsible for it—they are. But the fact I rose to impress upon you is this—that this convention is more important than any which has yet assembled on the face of the globe. Men have come more than 5000 miles in order to attend it. They have come here not from selfish motives, not to advance their own interests, not to acquire pride and glory from participating in your objects; but from higher and more ennobling motives—from a desire to serve the cause of humanity. You have representatives from the neighbouring kingdoms of Europe—you have them from every portion of the British isles—and no portion of the British isles ought to be exempted from our meeting. You have at this convention the patriarch of the cause of liberty, and I am delighted that that venerable gentleman has lived to see a conclusion which, when he commenced his labours, the fervid imagination of his youth could not have conceived. He has been the prime moving cause of that majestic operation of British justice. It is delightful that he has lived to witness the purest of all fame. This is a powerful assembly; but in proportion to its importance, so is the awfulness of the duty imposed upon it. Are you met to teach morals, to display talent, and to show a good disposition? Yes, you may meet for all these purposes, but they are totally insufficient for your work, and without some great movement in favour of humanity, it would have been better that you had never met: for instead of doing good, you will create a re-action favourable to the foes of the human race, and will assist, in fact, those nations that, from political considerations, have pledged themselves to the British crown to assist in putting an end to human slavery, and are yet practising all manner of deceit, redoubling the horrors of the middle passage, and committing thousands of murders more than were perpetrated in the worst period of our slave-trade. The only reason why I rose to obey the call was the opportunity it furnished of raising my humble voice in earnest solicitations, that this meeting should not break up until it has made a movement forward—until it has made those arrangements which in your wisdom you may think most fit, in order to establish co-operating societies in every country in the world. I am proud to see gentlemen present from Massachusetts, because in point of law, the Massachusetts legislature have decided that the first paragraph of independence, the charter of American freedom, was so inconsistent with slavery, that upon the construction of the first clause alone they have determined that no slavery shall exist in that state. I come back to my only point—that it is the duty

of every one of us to work out our principles, to take care that something permanent results from our operations, and that they shall not prove transitory. It does not become me to suggest what they should be, but I am ready, as a man of business, to adopt measures which shall produce an effect in every portion of the civilized world. You should throw a glance beyond the ocean; you should commence a correspondence with the place where the worst slavery exists—with the East Indies. It is not only the actual bondsman who is a slave there, but every occupier is under the basest of tyranny, and the East India Company have unlimited power to tax him to the utmost amount which they can possibly grind out of him. Nothing can be more glorious to America than the number of anti-slavery societies already established in that country, and we should make a perfect brotherhood of affection with them. I have been blamed for phrases untruly attributed to me, as if I had attributed to all Americans that which I applied only to slave owners. I can never speak but with indignation of monsters who claim liberty to themselves, and yet inflict on the backs of their slaves the vilest marks of their tyranny. I hail with delight the approach of meetings at which there will be associated with us the honest citizens of America, who come here at so much expense, so much peril, so much sacrifice of time, and in spite of the prejudices of their countrymen—men who will raise the knife where they fail in argument. I am obliged to the meeting for giving me an opportunity of throwing out my sentiments. I hope that every gentleman will join with me in the conviction, that we are under an imperative duty to operate forwards, or we shall drive the cause of humanity backwards. Would it not be a lamentable thing for such a convention to meet without forwarding the cause which they have come together to promote? If we are to work well, we must make sacrifices of individual opinion to public sentiment. Honest men are often those who are the most stubborn; for having no improper motives in their own minds, but being actuated by pure conviction, they are frequently unwilling to yield. There are some places, which shall be nameless, where a man is never angry with another for differing from him in public. Though they often agree in private, they take adverse views when they come before the world. I rejoice to have had an opportunity of seeing you in the chair, and of seeing the representative of your family, of the glorious name you will leave to posterity. I rejoice that we cannot be accused of a wrong motive. I defy the entire press of England, admitting its ingenuity, but paying it no other compliment, to impugn our motives. The efforts of the convention are beyond reproach. You have nothing to fear. I trust that God who has told us that charity is the greatest of all, will smile propitiously on our efforts, and that the convention will do some mighty work, which shall make efficient progress in raising men all over the globe from a state of degradation to a state of freedom, as the only real preparative for the reception of the truths of christianity, and the blessings of civilization.

Mr. J. C. FULLER, (from New York,) said, there are no men in the room whom I am more happy to see than yourself and Mr. O'Connell. We have been told that there must be an influence go out of this meeting that shall tell upon the nations of the earth. I was glad to hear it. Mr. O'Connell has talked to us, I now want to talk to him. There is a charm about his name all over the universe. I believe he could do more to put down slavery in America than the convention can effect. Some of our Irish brethren there are the principal supporters of slavery, and if he would issue an address to them we should soon have powerful coadjutors. I hope he will do something of that kind. There is a charm in his name which slavery cannot tarnish.

Mr. O'CONNELL, replied, I only beg you to be assured of this, I want no additional stimulant to induce me to carry into effect that which I have long had in contemplation. Before the convention breaks up, I will show to that gentleman if he will permit me, and to other American delegates that address, in order that I may know whether they deem it suitable to the country or not.

Mr. BRADBURN, I rise not without considerable embarrassment. I felt that I could do no less than advert to the allusion which has been made by the distinguished individual who has just sat down (Mr. O'Connell) to my own native state. He has referred to the constitution of that state, and has truly told you that its adoption struck a death-blow to slavery in the state of Massachusetts. But not until very lately has that state, I regret to say, done what it was obliged to do in consistency with its own constitution, with regard to slavery in the national district of Columbia, to the continuance of which in that district she was, in virtue of her belonging to the Union, a party. It gives me great pleasure to say, that at the last sitting of her legislature she did perform her duty in this respect, and did through the voice of that body, pronounce slavery to be not only a heinous crime against God, but a virtual violation of human justice, and of the fundamental principle of the constitution of the country; and, furthermore, she declared it was the duty of congress immediately to abolish slavery in that district. She has also expressed her opinion, as she had a right to do, of the unconstitutional character of certain laws which exist in the slave-holding states. Our constitution makes no distinction on account of colour, neither does the constitution of the United States; yet in consequence of certain laws in the slave-holding states, our own citizens who may go in to them for business, or may be driven there by circumstances of adversity, over which they have no control, are seized upon by certain human hyenas and presumed to be slaves; and if they cannot prove themselves to be free men, or proving themselves to be such, have not money enough to pay the expenses which those hyenas have saddled upon them, they are sold into perpetual slavery. Thousands of cases of this kind occur yearly in the country. Massachusetts has pronounced these laws to be unconstitutional, and will, I doubt not, soon take measures to bring the subject before the supreme court of the nation, and impose upon the national government the duty of seeing that they are not enforced. I congratulate Englishmen that these laws are not enforced against the subjects of Queen Victoria. A friend of mine some years ago had occasion to visit the principal city of a slave-holding state, Charleston, South Carolina. On board the vessel there was a coloured man. On arriving at Charleston, an officer from the port boarded the vessel, for the purpose of ascertaining if there was a coloured person on board, and if so to take him to prison, and keep him there during the continuance of the ship in the port, when, if the captain pleases he may be taken, and returned home. When the officer came the captain understood his object, and feeling a peculiar regard for his coloured mariner he put him in a boat, and sent him on board a British ship. There, under the red cross of your own flag, he found that protection which the



wings of our own American eagle were not broad enough to extend to him. If any other free state would do as Massachusetts has done slavery would be abolished in the national district; for the free states do in reality hold the power of the nation if they would but exercise it. I am incapable of expressing the gratitude I feel on this occasion, in seeing before me such an audience, and especially, that I am permitted to behold the venerated chairman of this body. I feel scarcely less grateful that I am permitted to behold also that veteran in the cause of emancipation who sits at the chairman's right hand. They are two men whom I have often said I would go farther to see than any other persons in the universe. I will not introduce any exhortations. We need no pledges from this gentleman (Mr. O'Connell), with regard to his perseverance in the work of emancipation. I know that his creed has no regard to colour or clime. I know as certainly, as though it were proclaimed from the blue vault above by an angel's voice, that he will persevere in this great and glorious cause. His country I believe to be the world, and all mankind his countrymen. He has alluded to the subject of his rebukes of the American people; it has done my heart good when I have read them, for I know them to be Christian rebukes. It has made many a slave holder tremble in his shoes, as his eye has run over the reports of that distinguished gentleman's speeches, in which he has referred so frequently to the inconsistent republicans of North America.

The Rev. T. SCALES then read an admirably written document on the object of the convention, and the principles of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society; which, as it will soon appear in print, we omit here.

E. BAINES, Esq., M.P., said, I have nothing to address to the meeting, except to move that its cordial thanks be given to Mr. Scales for the very lucid exposition he has just made of the objects of the meeting, and to express my earnest desire that those objects he has so well described, and the importance of which I hope we all earnestly feel, may be attained. I have also to express, and I do it with great gratification, the pleasure I have in once more seeing my venerable friend, Thomas Clarkson. I am happy also to be surrounded by a great number of influential men from all countries, who have come to promote this god-like work. I hope they will continue to exercise that spirit of benevolence which has been so well expressed by my honourable and learned friend—that they will make a movement in advance, and that that movement will never cease till it has effected the liberty of all mankind. That such a result will be accomplished I have no doubt, though it may not be realized in our time. Who would have expected when our venerable friend first entered on his labours, that so much would have been effected as has already been attained? Who would have expected to find the slave trade abolished, and slavery itself, so far as England is concerned? Who would have expected that all the men of consequence and of influence, would have been animated by the spirit they now exhibit, and have come forward, and declared themselves the friends of that civilization in Africa, which I hope is to be the foundation of universal liberty. I saw with some surprise—I do not inquire into the motives—the prelates of the land standing forward, and declaring that they conceive it to be the duty of their fellow-men, and those they instruct in religion. If there was any slight put upon any one the other day, that was the only cause of regret which occurred. I do feel that it was an indignity which was not deserved, and ought not to have been inflicted. I know, however, that his great mind can rise superior to it. But I do not much regret it, so far as the individual himself is concerned, I only regret it on behalf of those who could originate an affront to such a man. I will not further detain the meeting, except by proposing—

“That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Rev. Thomas Scales, for having prepared the valuable paper setting forth the objects of this convention now read.”

The Rev. J. H. JOHNSON, vicar of Tilstead, said, It is with feelings of very great pleasure that I rise to second the motion which has just been made. As a warm and sincere friend to universal liberty I feel peculiar gratification, not only because there appears to be one unanimous feeling that the slave shall always meet with your sympathy and assistance so long as he is in bondage, but also because I see here persons of every political shade of opinion and of various religious sects. I hail it as one of those delightful signs of the time when men shall learn to love as brethren, and to spend their short remaining lives not in bickering—not in quarrels, but in one grand effort to remove from the face of the earth one of the greatest scourges which has ever afflicted mankind. I feel pleasure, because I am assured that the divine counsel must ever attend efforts of this description, and because we have entered on the business of the day by first imploring, each one for himself, the direction of Almighty God, without whom nothing is strong and nothing is holy. Vain are all the contrivances of slave owners to keep the prey within their grasp, if we can get the God of love to interpose on our behalf. He has promised that if, whatever our hands find to do, we do it with all our might, he will be with us in exercising it in works of piety and mercy. So long as there shall be a child of Adam in sorrow, or a child of man in the grasp of tyranny and oppression, it is our duty to go on in this cause. As Christians professing to feel for the spiritual welfare of the world, we have much to do ere the gospel can be received by them. Let the African look at a Christian and know him to be animated by feelings like ourselves, and then we can expect a patient hearing. But what has he generally seen in the white man? Appropriately has he styled him “a white devil,” having everything but kindness, and love, and mercy on his lips and in his heart. Is this the way to send the bright beams of gospel light on that benighted land? Is it to be by oppression, by wrong, by robbery, by murder, that we are to teach him the lessons of Jesus? Oh no. It is by going amongst them, taking nothing of theirs, but giving them all we can; by laying out our lives and all we possess in order to do them service. When they see white men cease to wrong them they will listen to them. When they see hearts of benevolence, then we may expect that they will throng to the missionaries of the cross, and hear the gospel of Christ. When I see Africa, that large part of the world, covered with paganism, I cannot help thinking that it is owing to the conduct of Christians that it is so benighted; still I trust the time will not be long, ere through the length and breadth of Africa the gospel of love and mercy shall be spread; and men be taught there, as we have been taught here, that with God there is no respect of persons—that whether a man be covered with ebony or ivory, he is equally acceptable to him. Animated by these considerations, let us bind ourselves together—not by vows, but as one whole family, going forth under the blessing of Jesus

to conquer the bad habits of bad men, to show them that it is to their interest, both here and there, to let the oppressed go free. With these sentiments, and apologising for the length of time I have occupied you, I beg most cordially to second the motion.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq. begged before the chairman withdrew to introduce to him and to the meeting Henry Beckford, who three years ago was himself a slave.

Mr. HENRY BECKFORD.—I pray God to look down in mercy upon the labours of this society, which has been formed in this country to deliver us from bondage. I rejoice to see the kind gentleman who, as the root of this society, relieved my body from suffering. I rejoice to tender my thanks to the British ladies from one end of the land to the other. I have seen the blood run down the negro's back; I have seen the poor creatures confined in chains; but how shall I rejoice when I return to my native country, to tell my friends that I have seen those gentlemen who delivered us from the accursed system which was the ruin of men's souls as well as the body! Slavery brought men down to the level of four-footed beasts; but now, when I return, no man can ask me where I have been. I came here as a free man, and I shall return as the same. I was a slave for twenty-eight years, but look at me, and work on. There are other parts of the world where slavery now exists, but I trust the negroes there will soon become freemen as I am to day. We hope, however, that you will assist us till we become more thoroughly established in the blessings we now enjoy, and we will assist you by our prayers till slavery is abolished throughout the world. I hope that this assembly will enjoy the blessing of God, and that great benefits will result from your deliberations. It is good to be the servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to be engaged in promoting his cause.

THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq. then retired from the chair, and on the motion of G. W. Alexander, Esq., seconded by George Bennett, Esq., W. BLAIR, Esq., was called to occupy it.

The CHAIRMAN then rose and said, In being called on immediately to succeed our venerable and respected president, I cannot but feel and express how undeserving I am of the distinction which has been conferred upon me. I can truly say without any affectation that there are very many in the assembly who possess far stronger claims and better qualifications than myself to occupy such a position. In bowing, however, to the decision of the convention, I have only to throw myself on the kind consideration and indulgence of the assembly, and to solicit for myself and my respected colleagues your united support in our endeavours to maintain that good order and harmony which is essential to the credit of our proceedings. This meeting having been opened in the usual way, by the speech of our respected president, it would be unsuitable and unnecessary for me to detain you by any observations of my own. But I will just hazard one remark which may not be altogether unimportant in reference to the harmony of future proceedings. It must be obvious to every one present, that this meeting is composed of gentlemen entertaining a great diversity of sentiment upon political and religious subjects, as well as others, though cordially united, I trust, as one man in the great object which brings us together. I trust that no opinion or expression will escape in the progress of discussion that can possibly wound the feelings or offend the innocent prejudices of any one, that a spirit of forbearance and conciliation will be maintained throughout the proceedings, and nothing will be suffered to clash with the paramount object we have in view. (Cheers.)

Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS said, Those who may have watched the proceedings of this convention during the presence of Thomas Clarkson, Esq., will have observed, that we have not yet provided for the formation of any roll of membership. There is no body constituted emanating from this convention to receive the credentials of delegates, and inscribe their names. Several friends who are interested in the matter have proposed to make a motion to that effect, in the regular course of business, but it was suggested that as it might lead to discussion, it would be better to delay it till after the retirement of our venerated friend. I make these remarks to apologise for the seeming inappropriateness of the motion which I have to submit to the meeting. It is as follows—

“That a committee of five be appointed to prepare a correct list of the members of this convention, with instructions to include in such list all persons bearing credentials from any Anti-slavery body.”

It may be necessary before I sit down to state the reason of making that motion, when to all appearance there exists on this table a list of delegates. I do it because, coming from the state of Massachusetts there are several of my co-delegates, who though in this hall, have not received an entrance as members of the convention by the authority of the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, who have undertaken to settle the qualifications of membership of this body. Under their control the list before me has been formed—a list very useful for the purposes of reference or communication between the various members who have arrived in this city. But some of us feeling ourselves—shall I use too harsh a term when I say aggrieved?—by this act of the committee, have thought it our duty to bring the subject before the convention. I allude to the refusal of tickets of admission to the women of Massachusetts. When [the call, which was read by Mr. Tredgold, reached America, we found that it was an invitation to the friends of the slave of every nation and of every clime. Massachusetts has for several years acted on the principle of admitting women to an equal seat with men in the deliberative bodies of Anti-slavery societies. When the Massachusetts anti-slavery society received that paper it interpreted it, as it was its duty, in the broadest and most liberal sense. If there be any other paper emanating from this committee limiting to one sex the qualification of membership, there is no proof, and as an individual I have no knowledge, that such a paper ever reached Massachusetts. We stand here in consequence of your invitation, and knowing our custom, as it must be presumed you did, we had a right to interpret “friends of the slave” to include women as well as men. (Applause, and loud cries of no, no.) In such circumstances we do not think it just or equitable to that state, nor to America in general, that after the trouble, the sacrifice, the self-devotion of a part of those who leave their families, and kindred, and occupations in their own land, to come 4000 miles to attend this world's convention, they should be refused a place in its deliberations. The meeting will observe that I have purposely introduced into the motion language which brings the question before the convention.

PROFESSOR ADAM (of Harvard University) in seconding the resolution said, I shall merely state that I have great pleasure in expressing my



entire concurrence in the sentiments that have now been stated to the meeting. I will only add, if the ladies who have come from America are not deemed entitled in consequence of the credentials they bear to a place in this assembly, I feel for one that I am not entitled to occupy such a position. My credentials proceed from the same persons, and from the same societies, and bear the same names as theirs. I have no other authority to appear amongst you, to take a place in your proceedings, and give a voice in your deliberations, than that right which is equally possessed by the ladies to whom a place among you has been denied. In the society from which I have come, female exertion is the very life of us, (applause) and of all that we have done, and all we hope to do. To exclude them, therefore, would be to affix a stigma upon them. (Cries of no, no.)

Mr. GEORGE STACEY, I feel that any one is placed in a very invidious position in having to speak a word in reference to this proposition. It is inconsistent with our natural feelings to take a part which shall at all throw a stigma or shade of unfavourable opinion upon the conduct, exertions, influence, or power of our female friends in this cause. I believe no persons are disposed to estimate more highly than the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, the bright example and philanthropic efforts of our female friends. But the custom of this country is well known and uniform. In all matters of mere business, unless females are especially associated together and announced as such in the promotion of the objects in view, they do not become a part of the working committees. Having been a member of the society from which that invitation issued, and having taken a constant part in its proceedings, I feel myself in some degree qualified to bear testimony to the meaning of such documents as it has issued, and I do take the liberty of saying that, to my knowledge, the document calling the convention had no reference to, or ever contemplated including females as a part of the convention. (Hear, hear.) We did become aware in the progress of this business that there was a disposition on the part of our American brethren, and that with the best intention, to construe that call as it might have been construed had it been issued by themselves—that is, that it might include females as well as men. The earliest moment that this circumstance came to the knowledge of the committee, that committee issued another circular, which bears date the 15th of February, in which the description of those who are to form the convention is set forth as consisting of gentlemen. (Hear, hear.) We thus felt that we had done all we could to prevent inconvenience to our American friends on this subject, and supposed that we should not have been brought into difficulty with this question. But as this point has been introduced, I take it for granted, that sooner or later the opinion of the convention must be taken as to whether or not ladies are to become a part of the convention. I would waive some points with respect to its operation; for I think that the sooner the matter is brought to a conclusion, the better.

Dr. BOWRING—I think the custom of excluding females is more honoured in its breach than in its observance. In this country sovereign rule is placed in the hands of a female, and one who has been exercising her great and benignant influence in opposing slavery, by sanctioning, no doubt, the presence of her illustrious consort, at an anti-slavery meeting. We are associated with a body of christians, who have given to their women a great, honourable, and religious prominence. I look upon this delegation from America as one of the most interesting, the most encouraging, and the most delightful symptoms of the times. I hope that a committee will be appointed to consider this question, and to report on the facts of the case. I cannot believe that we shall refuse to welcome gratefully the co-operation which is offered to us.

The Rev. J. BURNET—I feel that, if there ever was a time when it was necessary for this convention to be calm and self-collected this is that moment. I have no hesitation in saying, that I feel that the convention itself is perilled in this discussion, and whilst I have the highest regard for the ladies of America and England, and whilst neither for the one nor for the other, can I entertain for one moment any feeling but a feeling of the highest respect, I must at the same time claim your indulgence and that of the meeting, while I take a calm and deliberate view of the question, one of the most important that can be discussed in connexion with the mere forms of this convention. We must be calm, and we must be firm; and I shall be as firm in the maintenance of my sentiments, as I shall be calm in the statement of them. (Cheers.) The gentleman who has proposed the motion, which is now before you, stated his case very well and very calmly, and very fairly stated the claims which the ladies have to the kind consideration of all for their works of usefulness, and their energy in these works. We hail the continuance of their work of usefulness; we thank them for the past, we trust them in the present, and we anticipate great things from them in the future. (Applause.) I would apply this to England as well as to America. The ladies of England are active and diligent in all the works of benevolence—(applause)—they have frequently stimulated to the creation of such institutions as this, when the lords of creation did not think of creating them. (Applause.) The ladies have carried them on when the gentlemen would have found it impossible, from the multiplicity of demands made on their time by the business in which they are engaged. In one thing said by the gentleman I cordially concur. He contended for putting an American interpretation upon American phraseology; certainly, so he ought, but he ought also, upon the same principle, to put an English interpretation upon English phraseology.—(Cheers and laughter.)—I must be allowed to say that it never did occur to the society that it was inviting ladies from any part of the globe; it never was contemplated that the resolutions of the committee could be so construed. It has come upon us by surprise, without any anticipation. Is it fair that we should be called upon now to discuss such a question, when we never for a moment anticipated even such a contingency? I must say, that it is unfair that we should be called upon to do so, that no indignity was offered, or intended to be offered, to the ladies—they were placed on a level with our own wives and daughters—(cheers)—and if they are placed in such a position, it is impossible to say that any insult or indignity was offered, or could be offered, to them. I would welcome those ladies to this hall with pleasure—to that part of it to which they may be admitted with propriety. I would treat them with all attention, with all respect, but I would not clothe them with the character of officers of the convention. It would be better that this convention should be at this moment dissolved, than that the resolution should be adopted. (Cries of "No, no.") Some gentlemen say no, no, I wish them to think upon it

seriously and gravely. If this convention should take the course proposed by the mover and seconder of the resolution, I am convinced, that it will sincerely regret it. I should say that our American friends would add another laurel to their brow, were they at this moment to say, let us not at this moment make shipwreck of our vessel, let us not even put her in a perilous sea. (Applause.) As we are in England, let us act as England does.

The Rev. Mr. GREW said, the invitation was understood by many in the sense to which reference had been made, but the admission of females to form a party of the convention did not accord with his views of propriety.

The Rev. Mr. COLVER felt bound to say that there was a very large portion of the brethren in America who upon this question thought as the English did, and had it not been understood that the English principle would be acted upon, many of them would not have been there.

Mr. STACEY thought that it would not be advisable to go into the abstract question. It was time to have a substantive resolution before them. He would therefore move as an amendment,

"That this convention, upon a question arising as to the admission of females appointed as delegates from America to take their seats in this body, resolve to decide this question in the negative."

The Rev. Mr. GALUSHA, of New York, in seconding the amendment, said, he was a delegate from an exceedingly numerous constituency in America, and amongst them the ladies took no part in the business of societies. He could say that it was a very small minority of the abolitionists who had allowed the innovation, and it ought not to be acted upon here. He had no objection to women being the neck to turn the head about, but he had no wish to see them assume the place of the head.—(Hear, hear.)

The Rev. Dr. ROLFE, (from Canada,) approved of the amendment. The question was one on which America was not decided. Why then should this convention be called to the invidious task of deciding between the two contending parties?

Mr. G. BRADBURN, of the legislature of Massachusetts, hoped that the original motion would have been agreed to without any discussion. He did not anticipate any difference of opinion upon such a question in that which was a world's convention. That was a convention of abolitionists from all parts of the world. Then were the delegates of Massachusetts to be debarred the privilege—the right of sending the delegates of their own election? It would no longer be a world's convention, if such freely-chosen delegates were to be excluded.—(Hear.) It had been said if the women were admitted they would take sides. Why had they not as good a right to take sides as the men?—(Hear, hear.)

Colonel MILLER then rose to address the meeting, but

The CHAIRMAN suggested that it would be advisable to have the second letter of invitation explaining the basis on which the convention had been called, read, which was accordingly done by the Secretary.

Colonel MILLER then proceeded. He fortunately belonged to a state in America that had never been troubled with the woman question.—(Hear, hear, and laughter.) The women were among their primeval abolitionists, and had been merely seconded by their husbands. This question ought never to have come here to have been settled, but ought to have been decided on their own shores. The women had been duly delegated in the cause of humanity. He did not claim for them pre-eminence over man, but would merely observe that they were first in their attendance at the cross, and first and last at the sepulchre, and that from that day to this they had taken the van in the march of civilized liberty.—(Cheers.) He only wanted a fair and honourable expression of the opinion of the meeting, and to that opinion he pledged himself that the delegates from America would bow.—(Hear, hear.)

Captain STUART was persuaded, having been in the United States and being largely acquainted with the great body of abolitionists, that in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, the most uncompromising friends of liberty and of the slaves were against the reception of lady delegates, as recommended.

Mr. WILLIAM ALLEN urged the assembly to consider the value of the cause they were all met to promote, and he regretted that a question of this sort had ever been mooted.—(Hear, hear, hear.) It might be a subject of grave and proper consideration at another time and in another place, but he thought the introduction of the question into that assembly would merely prove an apple of discord.

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON claimed the attention of the convention for a few moments, because the present question was one upon which he thought the fate of the convention, for all good purposes, hinged.—(Hear, hear.) He had deprecated most sincerely the introduction of the question into the convention. He had anticipated it with dread; and although they were not in a situation to retrace their steps, yet they had it in their power to avert the consequences that must inevitably ensue, if they became partizans in this matter; and if, in consequence of their recorded votes, they should regard their friends, with whom alone they could associate or be useful, as enemies. He had listened attentively to the arguments of Mr. Burnet, one of our best controversialists, and what were those arguments? First, that English phraseology must be construed according to English usages; secondly, that it was never contemplated by the Anti-slavery committee of that society, that ladies should occupy a seat in the convention; thirdly, that the ladies of England were not there as delegates; and fourthly, that neither he, nor any other individual, had a desire to offer an affront, still less an insult to the ladies. Those, he presumed, were the strongest arguments Mr. Burnet could urge, and in opposition to them, he (Mr. Thompson) would observe, that there were present ladies who presented themselves as delegates from known societies—the originators of all the other societies in America. He had expected that Mr. Burnet, if he had intended to offer a successful opposition to their introduction, would have grappled with the constitutionality of their credentials—would have gone to the question of title, and disputed the right of the Pennsylvania assembly to send ladies to the convention. Those ladies came as the representatives of two millions and a half of slaves, and he would implore gentlemen in voting upon this question to remember that in admitting or rejecting them, they acknowledged or despised their constituents. (Hear, hear, and No, no.) The grand objection that had been taken was, that, if admitted, the ladies would be placed upon a footing of equality with themselves, and that that equality would be contrary to custom, usage, and principle. That was a flimsy excuse for their exclusion. They had advocated the cause of the poor slave, and suffered much for his sake, before their opponents



were known as abolitionists. (Cheers.) He could not understand the ground upon which they were to be excluded. It could not be on the ground of intellect, principle, or discretion. Their conduct in the anti-slavery cause had been above all praise, and while they had carried their flag in the van, the men had most humbly and obsequiously followed in the rear. (Cheers and laughter.) The state of Massachusetts had heard Angelina Grimké, the female delegate of the anti-slavery society, and she was commended for that course. The most useful societies in America were those conducted by women. As to the propriety of the thing he had his own opinion, and had laboured to the eleventh hour to prevent the question being mooted here. (Loud cries of Hear, hear.) Even now he should be glad if it were thought proper to withdraw it. (Hear, hear.) It was said that if they rejected not the ladies they would regret it. Why? On account of magnanimity or gentlemanly feeling? (Hear, hear.) He yet apprehended the greatest difficulties from a division—(hear, hear)—and perhaps the sense of the meeting could be taken without, and a protest entered. But upon the question coming thus distinctly forward he thought he should be recreant to all that was generous had he forborne to say what he had. For the appearance of some of the ladies he was answerable—he had written, inviting them, but he confessed he did not then anticipate that they would come as delegates. (Hear, hear.) He earnestly requested his American friends to withdraw their motion.

Mr. G. STACEY withdrew his amendment, trusting that the original motion would also be withdrawn; and if not the convention would have to decide it, yea or nay.

Mr. W. PHILLIPS could not take upon himself the responsibility of withdrawing the resolution. (Loud cries of question and divide.) It was with him a matter of conscience.

The CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Phillips having exercised his right of replying, he was now about to put the question.

Several delegates here rose together to protest against the question being now put.

Mr. PHILLIPS said he had not risen to reply, but merely to explain.

The CHAIRMAN said that such being the case the discussion must be allowed to continue.

Mr. CAIRNS, of Edinburgh, then rose to address the meeting, and said that he had to propose an amendment, which he hoped would have the effect of settling this question, without offending the feelings of any party. The amendment he proposed to submit was to the following effect:—

"That this convention finds itself placed in a state of great perplexity by the claims of the female delegates from Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, to be received as delegates to the convention.—That it regrets that, according to the terms of the invitation, it cannot receive them as such; whilst at the same time it takes this opportunity of expressing its admiration of the zeal which has induced them to undertake a voyage of 4000 miles, in order to be present on this occasion." (Cheers.)

Mr. ASHURST said it did not matter what were the intentions of the committee in issuing the invitation; the question was as to what their intentions ought to have been. This was a convention met together on the principles of universal benevolence, and they ought to welcome all who came there for the purpose of carrying those principles into effect; and from such a meeting assembled on such principles they were now about to exclude the women of America, and this they called acting on principles of universality. They professed to act on principles of universality, and were about to commence their proceedings by disfranchising one-half of creation. Women were as competent as men to understand, and to guard everything connected with Christianity, and to bring forth the best qualities of our nature. Let them look at the argument on the other side; it was contended that the invitation of the committee should be construed according to the customs of the country in which they were to assemble. Now what would have been the case if the convention had assembled in Virginia? It would be said that by law and custom slavery existed in that state, and that, therefore, they had no right to set themselves in opposition to the prejudices and customs of society, by attempting to put it down. (Cries of "No, no.") The Anti-slavery cause was under the greatest obligations to the exertions of women, and yet they were going to begin their first convention by disfranchising their constituency, as one-half of creation.—(Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. HARVEY, of Glasgow, regretted that the question had been brought before the meeting. The convention was now called upon not to come to a decision as to the slavery question, but to come to a decision on the question of the rights of females.—(Cheers.) He would yield to no man in the high estimation he felt for the female character. No man appreciated more highly than himself the kindness, the zeal, and the disinterested benevolence of the female character, none had laboured more effectively than they had done in the anti-slavery cause. (Cheers.) But he doubted whether in such a meeting as the present females were in their own proper sphere.—(Cheers.)—and if the question of the admission should be pressed to a division, he would certainly give his most decided opposition to it.—(Cheers.) It had been stated by some of the delegates from America, that this was with them a question of conscience—why, it was a question of conscience with him too. He entertained certain views on this subject, with regard to the word of God, and he thought and conscientiously believed that, if he gave his vote for admitting females to vote and speak in such an assembly as the present, he should be acting in opposition to what he considered the word of God.—(Cheers.)—But while he said this, he at the same time must express his admiration of the devotedness, the heroism, and the enlightened zeal which they had exhibited in their endeavours to ameliorate the unhappy condition of the slave, and he would hold them up as an example to the women of Britain for the devotedness which they had displayed to effect this object. (Cheers.)

The Rev. J. A. JAMES, of Birmingham, had not been an indifferent nor an inactive spectator, so far as he could observe the cause from the shores of his own country, of the progress of the cause of the abolition of slavery in America. Such had been the impression formed upon his mind of the exertions of those females of whose names America might be justly proud, that he would willingly have undertaken a journey to town had it been only to see such women as Mrs. Chapman and Mrs. Weld. But he was quite sure that, in that assembly that morning, the moving the question of their admission had been prejudicial to the cause. He was sorry the abstract question of the rights of women had occupied so large a share of their attention. He regretted that the question had been brought from the other side of the Atlantic. (Cheers.) It would have been better to have settled

it there first—(loud cheers)—and have allowed them to pursue their own course without embarrassing them on the subject. (Loud cheers.) Several expressions had been made use of by the gentlemen from America in the course of the discussion, which he had been delighted to hear. He was pleased with the declaration of Col. Miller, that, whatever might be the decision of the majority of the convention, to that he was prepared to bow; and though, as Mr. Phillips could not conscientiously consent to withdraw his resolution, the question must go to the vote, yet he thought, however, they might give their votes, it would occasion no divisions among them; but that they would all be prepared to go forward in the great and good work which they had undertaken with perfect confidence in each other's motives, though they had not the same confidence in each other's opinions. (Loud cheers.) They had never before heard a single word on the question of the right of females. It was a question perfectly new in this country. They were not prepared for its discussion. It had never before been mooted, and they were therefore not prepared to jump to a conclusion. The question involved in this country far wider considerations than even the question of slavery itself.—(hear, hear, and cheers)—and he trusted they would not gratify their enemies by quarrelling on the threshold. (Loud cheers.) He was sure the American delegates would stand acquitted at the bar of their own country of any imputation of lukewarmness on this question. (Cheers.) The females could never reproach them with having deserted their cause, and they would go back honoured by all those who had sent them there—and should they one day agree with their American friends in opinion on this subject, then would they welcome those females within the bar who were now placed a little beyond it, but whom he could not think disgraced by being so placed. (Cheers.) No man could have read "The Martyr Age," which to him possessed more than the charms of romance, without forming the highest opinion of the devotedness, the talents, and the heroism of the women of America. (Cheers.) America was the only country in the world which could boast a very extensive martyrology to this cause, and they would add another laurel to their wreaths by conceding the point under discussion. (Cheers.) They would still continue to appear in this first meeting of the sort which had ever been assembled since slavery first existed, and be with them and around them, although they could not be amongst them. He hoped that all that had occurred on this question would be only like what sometimes was introduced into the most melodious music, a discord only to make the harmony the sweeter. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Cairns' amendment not having been seconded, it fell to the ground, and the Chairman was about to put the original resolution, when

Mr. STACEY said, that he had only consented to withdraw his amendment, upon the understanding that Mr. Phillips would consent to withdraw his original motion! but that gentleman having declined, it was not competent for him to do so. He (Mr. Stacey) would not withdraw his amendment.—(Loud cries of "question, question; divide, divide.")

The CHAIRMAN said, that as the great majority of the meeting seemed to wish to come to a decision on the subject, he would now put the question.

Dr. Cox protested against this peremptory decision of the chairman. It was not competent for any number of gentlemen to demand of the chairman that he should come to a prompt decision on this subject. (Cheers.) Gentlemen on the other side of the question were entitled to be heard, and if they were not heard, he should move an adjournment.

Mr. J. CANNING FULLER said, that he represented as large a constituency as any one present, and he was surprised that an attempt should be made to prevent persons from speaking. It had been said that the question ought to have been settled on the other side the Atlantic. Why it had been settled in favour of the women a year ago; and with regard to the terms of the invitation, there was nothing about gentlemen in the first invitation, and the women had been elected before the second notice had been received.

Captain WALKER said, that in whatever country an institution was formed, something should be given up to the feelings and prejudices of the country in which it was formed. (Cheers.) The ladies across the Atlantic had exerted themselves nobly, (cheers)—and he trusted they would continue to do so, (loud cheers.)—but he intreated the ladies not to push this question. (Cheers.) They did not perhaps fully comprehend the feeling existing in this country on the subject. (Cheers.) The question reduced itself to this. Were the Americans willing to cast off England altogether? England had given a proof of her sincerity in the anti-slavery cause by paying twenty millions to get rid of the abomination of slavery, and were they now willing to cast England off? If the society had been established in America he should never have mooted the question of the exclusion of females; he would do nothing to offend the prejudices of the country in which they were, and he trusted they would do nothing calculated to cripple the great cause in which they were engaged. (Cheers.)

Mr. BRINEY, secretary of the National Anti-Slavery society of New York, said that he rose for the purpose of correcting an impression which might be produced upon the minds of the convention, by what had fallen from some of the preceding speakers from the United States, and also from Mr. G. Thompson. Those gentlemen had made use of expressions calculated to produce the impression that the woman question, as it was called, was considered settled in the United States. Now, such was by no means the case. It was still a moot question, and a question which, since he had left America, had led to a split in the Anti-slavery society, and to the organization of a new one, from which females he had no doubt would be excluded. It was true the question had been decided in their favour last year, but that decision had been come to, by no means by a large majority, and a portion of that majority was made up by the females themselves. Again, in Massachusetts, this principle had been a principal ground of separation between the societies. On both sides the question, however, were to be found good abolitionists and true. In Massachusetts a separation had taken place—one society admitted females, the other did not. Since he had left New York, he had heard from his friend, Lewis Tappan, on the subject. In a committee of which he was a member, the name of a distinguished abolitionist, Mrs. Child, had been placed on the committee. She was at a distance from the place, and consequently unable to attend, and Mr. Tappan had moved that the name of her husband, Mr. Child, a most talented man, should be substituted. This proposition, however, was negatived, and another lady, Miss Kelly, elected in the room of Mrs. Child. In consequence of this Mr. Tappan and several of his friends had come to a



resolution to separate from the society on that ground. Besides, most of those who were for the rights of women were also in favour of what was called the no-human government system. (Hear, hear.) He had only given this account in order to enable the convention to come to an intelligent decision on the subject. (Cheers.)

Mr. BURNIE and Mr. THOMPSON severally explained.

The Rev. C. STOVEL said the whole question was now rather one of order than of anything else. They were assembled there together from all parts of the world to consider questions relating to negro slavery; but whilst they were discussing the powers of the delegates, they were called upon to decide a question of a totally different character—a question of which they had never before heard anything—the question of the rights of women. He would not withhold from them any of their rights—he would give them more than their rights—he thought men and women too would be but poorly off if they had nothing but their rights. If that question was tearing the societies in pieces in the United States, why should they introduce it to tear in pieces this convention?—(Loud cheers.) He considered the introduction of the question was decidedly out of order, and he should vote for the confirmation of the list of delegates as handed in by the committee, and henceforth he hoped they would entertain this question no more.—(Cheers.) Were they not met together pledged to do something against slavery, and they suffer the tide of benevolence to be stopped by a straw? They had assembled for the destruction of slavery, and they ought not to expose themselves to ridicule through the whole length and breadth of the land. He should move as an amendment, that the list of delegates, as taken by the committee, should be adopted.—(Cheers.)

Mr. PRESCOD, of Barbados, rose, not for the purpose of discussing the question, but of stating a fact. The ladies themselves had not come over with any very certain expectation of being received among them.—(Cheers.) He had had that fact from the ladies themselves. The ladies had been elected conditionally, if their reception should be in accordance with the customs of the country; and if it were not so, they were absolved from all responsibility.

The Rev. Mr. BEVAN protested against private conversations being repeated before a public assembly.

Mr. PRESCOD resumed. The conversation which took place last night was not a private one; they had had a preliminary meeting, at which persons not delegates were present. He stated this in the presence of the American delegates, and of the ladies themselves. (Loud cries of "order, order.")

The Chairman said the speaker was decidedly out of order in giving the details of private conversation; he had clearly no right to do so. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. Dr. MORISON said they were already on the brink of a precipice. The discussion of this question had already given rise to feelings not only adverse to the object for which they were assembled, but to that christian spirit by which all previous anti-slavery meetings had been actuated.—(Cheers.)—for whatever had been done in this country in the anti-slavery cause had been done under the guidance of Christian principles. There were firm-minded men on both sides of this question. It was a question of conscience between the two parties, but he would say it was a question of conscience between a small minority on one side, and a mighty majority on the other. He might discuss this question until the convention was broken up—but would their American friends indulge any hope of carrying this question, if it should be put to the vote of the meeting?—(Cheers.) He believed if their American friends could be induced to withdraw the motion unanimity would be secured. They had assembled to discuss the question of anti-slavery, and they were now asked to discuss another, and that a minor question, as to the admission of female delegates from a small section of the American continent. He besought them calmly to consider the position in which the discussion of that question was placing them that day.—(Hear.) The present was unlike any meeting that had hitherto been held in England. All former anti-slavery meetings in England had been unanimous. (Cheers.) Would their American brethren keep them in their present position? Besides, he thought it improper that this discussion should be carried on in the presence of the ladies, for whom he entertained the most profound respect. (Loud cheers.) He knew the feelings of the Americans on this subject. He knew how anxious the discussion of this question in their own country had made them, and now they were making the friends of the anti-slavery cause as anxious on the subject on this. (Cheers.) He was convinced they did not admire the position females occupied in this country, or they would never have mooted this question. He urged them to proceed immediately to the division in a spirit of christian charity, and to abide by the decision. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN said the hour was so late, that he should now call upon Mr. Phillips to reply.

Mr. PHILLIPS would not enter on a reply. He would simply deny the truth of the assertions of Mr. Prescod, that the women did not expect to be received when they came there, or that they had any liberty left them of choice. The women of Massachusetts had no such liberty of choice left them, and they would have been coming to that convention with a lie in their mouths, and have been guilty of the grossest deception if, having such liberty, they had come before the convention in the way they had done. The particulars of that conversation had been greatly exaggerated. It was not true that the rent in the American societies had been owing to the introduction of the woman question; his friend, who had made that assertion, had been misinformed on the subject. It was political action which had occasioned that split, and not the introduction of the woman question. He, for one, was not a favourer of the no-human government plan; and he knew many strenuous supporters of the rights of women who, like himself, were by no means favourable to that scheme. (Cheers.)

The question was then put, and Mr. Stacey's amendment carried by a large majority. The announcement of the result was received with loud cheering.

Mr. G. THOMPSON hoped, that as the question was now decided, it would never again be brought forward, and that the convention would proceed with the same good feeling as if nothing had occurred to disturb their unanimity. (Cheers.)

Mr. PHILLIPS said he did not doubt but that the supporters of his motion would co-operate with the convention with just the same cordiality as if it had been carried. All they asked was an expression of opinion on the

subject, and having obtained that, they would go on with them with a perfect feeling of cordiality. (Loud cheers.)

PROFESSOR ADAM would co-operate with the gentlemen around him, with as much zeal and earnestness as if this question had never been started.

On the motion of Mr. STURGE, the convention then adjourned to ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

SATURDAY, JUNE 13TH.

The convention met on Saturday morning, according to adjournment, at Freemasons' Hall, at ten o'clock.

Joseph Sturge, Esq., of Birmingham, in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN said that before commencing the business of the day, he was anxious to offer to the meeting a few observations on some of the occurrences of yesterday, which might have appeared at the time a little irregular. Their excellent friend, Thomas Clarkson, had been anxious to escape from all unnecessary excitement. He was glad to say that their venerable friend had not suffered in consequence of his exertions; he had seen him last night, and he was glad to say that he was even better than he had been in the morning, and he hoped they would see him amongst them for a short time to-day. (Cheers.) It being the desire of the committee to spare their venerable friends all causes of excitement, had induced them to make arrangements that he should be moved, seconded, and voted into the chair before he entered the room. He (Mr. Sturge) was in ignorance of the fact that this had not been done when he accompanied his venerable friend into the room yesterday; but he scarcely thought it necessary to put the question, as no doubt could exist that their venerable friend would be voted into the chair by acclamation. He hoped the meeting would excuse the irregularity which had, in consequence, been occasioned, but his object had been in putting himself forward as he had done, to save the time of the meeting, and the feelings of their venerable friend from agitation. One or two of their friends who had been elected as office bearers had only arrived the preceding evening, and were scarcely cognizant of their rules. This also might have occasioned some little irregularity in their proceedings of yesterday, which he hoped would not again recur. In order to avoid any irregularity, however, it was necessary that they should act in strict accordance with the rules which they had laid down for the regulation of their proceedings, as in that manner only they could save time, of which they all well knew the value. He hoped they would now go on in a spirit of love, unanimity, and Christian charity, and he was rejoiced to see those dear friends who on the question which had occupied their time during the latter part of the preceding sitting, were then present, prepared to co-operate with them in the spirit of sincerity and cordiality.—(Cheers.)

The following gentlemen were then introduced as delegates from France, —M. ISAMBERT, the secretary to the French Anti-slavery society, and a member of the Chamber of Deputies, in whose honour medals had been struck by the coloured inhabitants of the French colonies; and M. LAURE, also a distinguished member of the French Society. They were received with loud applause.

The CHAIRMAN then said he hoped he should not be violating the conscientious scruples of any one, if he requested that they might be allowed to sit a minute or two in silence before the business of the meeting commenced.

It was shortly afterwards announced that it was the intention of those who wished to join in devotion before the commencement of the meeting, to meet in the adjoining room for that purpose at half-past nine.

The minutes of the proceedings of yesterday were then read by the secretary; and after a few observations from Mr. J. C. Fuller, and one or two other members of the convention, confirmed.

At the conclusion of the programme,

Mr. O'CONNELL entered the room, and was received with loud cheers.

Before the business commenced,

The Rev. B. GOODWIN, of Oxford, having been called upon by the chairman, proceeded, in a very low tone of voice, to read a paper on the essential sinfulness of slavery, and its direct opposition to the spirit and precepts of christianity.

It was here announced that the venerable Clarkson had arrived, and he forthwith took the chair, it having been previously arranged that all expressions of applause should be desisted from, to avoid flurrying him by any noise or excitement.

The Rev. C. STOVEL felt anxious that something practical should be devised on that religious view of the subject to which the essay just read was directed. He had several resolutions which he wished referred with the essay to a committee, to be thrown into a practical form, as a recommendation to all christian denominations to make slavery a matter of church discipline—(hear)—otherwise never would the church assume on this subject its true position. Why should not the church apply its principles to the errors pervading society? If slavery were a curse, those cursed by it ought to be delivered from it, and no friends of the gospel could be relieved from their responsibility till they had taken the ground christianity justified towards all implicated in the accursed thing. The outline of his statement was that the meeting regarded participants in slavery, and all legislative protectors of it, as acting directly contrary to the principles and spirit of christianity, and therefore earnestly entreated all christian churches through the world to consider whether incorrigible offenders of the following classes should not be excommunicated, viz.:—those who voluntarily brought men into slavery, either Hill Coolies or negroes; those who took part in laws keeping up slavery; those who knowingly gave a pro-slavery character to religious bodies; those who voluntarily participated in the license given by slavery protecting laws, either by wronging them in person, liberty, property, or life; those who refused slaves equal rights in the churches of God, or rejecting their evidence in any matter with no other reason than their colour; those who possessed slaves without any merciful right to hold them; that the meeting regarded all kinds of injustice guilty before God, and as deserving of reprobation by christian churches, when committed on a black as on a white man; and therefore entreated all their fellow-christians to recollect that God would hold them responsible for any protection of, allowance to, or connivance at slavery. (Hear.) This sketch he wished to be maturely considered in a sub-committee, to be by them, in a well-digested shape, brought before the convention.

The following resolution was then proposed and seconded:—"That the



paper read by Mr. Godwin be referred to a sub-committee, consisting of Rev. N. Colver, George Thompson, Esq., Rev. W. Knibb, Rev. B. Godwin, Rev. J. A. James, with the mover and seconder, with instructions to prepare resolutions thereon, of which it is recommended that the paper now read by Mr. Stovel form the basis.

Several delegates expressed themselves of the opinion that the question would more maturely be considered after it had been digested by the Committee.

The Rev. J. YOUNG said he could not agree to the principle of the resolutions. The convention was composed of members of all religious parties—Church of England-men, Baptists, Independents, Presbyterians, Methodists, Catholics—(hear, hear)—and ought not to participate in church discipline; for some of these denominations had no church discipline like that of others, as the Catholics. All that the convention should do was to declare their strong disapprobation of slavery, and their sense of its sinfulness, leaving it to the particular denominations to take such measures as they thought fit. He moved, as an amendment thereon, "That the last clause be omitted."

The Rev. E. TAYLOR, of Woodbridge, said, as a protestant dissenting minister, he never heard a set of resolutions of which he more cordially approved than those of Mr. Stovel. (Hear, hear.) He trusted that, by the integrity of their faith as christian men, they would pass them. They did not interfere with church discipline by recommending all christian men to consider gravely if any persons supporting slavery should sit with them in christian fellowship. (Hear.) He had seldom been more grieved and astonished than when he heard a well-known dissenting minister disapprove of this, which he held to be the soundest practical measure ever devised on the question. They came here to do. (Hear.) He would so far abide by that as to cease speaking now—(a laugh)—concluding by earnestly recommending the adoption of the resolutions.

Mr. O'CONNELL—I really think we are agreed in principle. There is no difference between our friend Mr. Stovel and the majority of the meeting as to this: That nothing is more complicated in sinfulness than slavery—(Hear, hear)—that it is a violation of all private morality—that it is a robbery in its principle, and carries multiplied murder in its effects.—(Hear, hear, hear.) There cannot be a christian man among us who does not abhor it from the bottom of his heart. Now, for what purpose are we come here? Not to interfere with church discipline.—(Hear, hear.) I would not presume to vote on any question touching the church discipline of any of the churches to which you belong—the Baptist or Independent, for instance. Liberty does not consist in giving up what we believe ourselves, that is latitudinarianism.—(Hear, hear, hear.) Liberty consists in giving to others what we claim for ourselves—free independent judgment in religion. We are not called upon to interfere in church discipline by these resolutions. We are only asked to *recommend*. And will not any proposition have additional weight with any church because it carries with it the sanction of this convention?—(Hear.) I am sure that in my church we should gladly have the aid which such a recommendation would afford us in carrying out measures against the accursed system of slavery which have already been suggested in the eloquent directions of the head of our church, and begun to be carried out by our clergy.—(Hear, hear.)

Several delegates strongly advocated the resolutions, particularly

The Rev. W. KNIBB, missionary from Jamaica—where he said he had found the immense advantage of carrying out the system laid down in these resolutions, of making slave-holding inconsistent with religious fellowship, and he believed that such a system truly carried out would soon be the death-blow of slavery.

Mr. FRANCILLON, of Gloucester, also supported the resolutions.

The churches in former days did not excommunicate, for probably that would have exceeded their powers; but there was an influence exerted by the clergy, and, one after one the villains were emancipated, and slavery was abolished in these free lands. He understood that an important object of the convention was to diffuse among themselves information of the most full and complete kind of the abominable nature of slavery, of the arguments to be used against it, and the proper measures to be used for its overthrow. Now, a brother had made use of the phrase, "That the church should deal harshly with all the sinners holding slaves, with the exception of those who held them in consequence of any reasonable necessity." Now, as he believed that slavery was an abomination, and could not be recognized by any man who respected the will of God or revered his word, then were not those words inconsistent with the notions of the vast multitude in the assembly? No christian or good man could possibly recognize any merciful reason for one man retaining property in his fellow-creature. He asked the question with respect, but he must contend that whatever resolutions they might come to, slavery was a great crime, and ought to be overturned by every means in their power.

The Rev. Mr. STOVEL.—One reason for using these words was to give the friends of slavery an opportunity of giving a good and a christian reason for the abominable practice, if it was in their power. Another was, because he was informed that in some cases where a slave was about to be restored to freedom, mercy to him would dictate that he should be manumitted in one state in preference to another, and he meant his words to apply to the transition state.

Mr. COLVER of Boston.—The Rev. gentleman who moved the proposition, seemed to have a delicacy about him in respect to the question, in which he (Mr. C.) did not share. A short time ago, there was a disturbance in Canada, chiefly fomented by American citizens, who were fond of commotion and trouble, and were more inclined to meddle with other persons' affairs than to mind their own. Whenever they were chased by the British authorities, they ran and took shelter in the states. Now England sent a minister to our government, and asked that they would prevent the marauders from sheltering on their territory, to which the American government at once acceded; now, would any one say that this was an interference with the American government by England? Of course it was not, and that is what we want; the moment we get the track of a slave-holder, and he takes refuge in the church of God, we want to say to the church, out with him, give him no refuge, withdraw your protection from him, for he is a sinner. Was that any undue interference with church discipline? He thought not, and cordially supported the original resolution.

Mr. BOULTBEE, of Birmingham, supported the resolution, inasmuch as it was merely a recommendation to the committee to consider.

Mr. YOUNG explained that his objection to the resolution was this. He

did think, although all of them were agreed that slave-holding was a sin, and was therefore inconsistent with church membership, still the convention was not a body that had a right to interfere with a church and its discipline.

After a desultory conversation between many members—

Mr. BLAIR strongly supported the resolution. He had long been anxious to see such a resolution adopted, for he conceived that the greatest stronghold of the slave-holder was the aid and sanction given to the practice by churches.

Dr. K. GREVILLE supported the resolution, because he conceived that every christian church ought to exercise church discipline in a case of such aggravated sin.

Mr. J. G. BIRNEY, of New York, said he must deny that there could be any sinless holder of a slave according to the law of God. That was a rock upon which they must not split—they must not give the slave-holder any such loop-hole, for they would most gladly avail themselves of it; no one found such easy excuses for his conduct as the slaveholder, whether he were a cruel one or a mild and gentle master. (Hear, hear.) He had made himself acquainted with the facts as they stood in New York respecting slavery—he went to all churches, and in none but the Roman Catholic church did he find they had put down the negro pew. Even in the churches where ministers preached who called themselves abolitionists he found it. (Hear, hear.) The resolution did not dictate, they only called upon the churches to carry out their own principles—they did not dictate new modes of action.

The Rev. Mr. SWAN, of Birmingham, supported the resolution.

The Rev. Mr. ROBINSON, of Kettering, would like to see the committee appointed unfettered, when they would well consider the matter, and bring forward matured resolutions.

Rev. Mr. HARVEY, of Glasgow, supported the resolutions. Although as a strict presbyterian as he ought to be, he saw nothing in them to offend any church—they were recommendations, not dictations.

Rev. Mr. JAMES, of Bridgewater, supported the amendment. He thought strong and stringent resolutions might be framed to effect their object without at all meddling with church discipline.

Mr. W. D. CREWSDON supported the resolution.

The Rev. Mr. BINNEY did not understand what was meant by the principle. His own impression was, that if they declared a certain thing to be a great sin and a violation of christian duty, they could not avoid drawing the inference that those who were guilty of that sin might be subject to church discipline.—(Hear.) Such a conclusion was as clear and logical as possible. But the difficulty of the point was not in the resolutions themselves of Mr. Stovel, but in the preamble to those resolutions. That preamble did not refer to the characteristics which distinguished the slavery of the present day from that species of slavery which existed at the time of the primitive church. Was there any gentleman present who would deny that slave-owners had been members of that primitive church?—(Yes.) Could any one deny that under the eyes of the apostles men had held property in their fellow-men? He believed there were slaves and masters in the times of the apostles, and that those masters had not become subject to church discipline. He had, however, no objection to such a resolution as that which had been proposed, if they were to have a preamble to it clearly and distinctly stating the characteristics which distinguished modern slavery from that which existed when the primitive church was formed. He thought that if, instead of this course, they denounced slavery in general terms as unchristian, they would create much perplexity in many minds.

A DELEGATE said that there was no account in the scriptures of such slavery as we had now.

The Rev. Mr. BINNEY—Exactly. There were circumstances of peculiar atrocity in slavery as it existed now, and it assumed a totally different aspect from that which it bore at the time of the apostles. But if they used the word slavery generally he thought they would involve themselves in great difficulties.

Mr. W. DAWES, of the Oberlin Institution, called on the meeting to act cautiously as regarded the question then before them, but not to temporize. They could not denounce the unchristian character of slavery too strongly, and they were bound to take every means in their power for its suppression.

The Rev. J. A. JAMES, began by expressing a hope that the convention would not come to a decision on the question then before them without the fullest deliberation. They were then touching the main spring of the whole subject—(Hear, hear, hear.) Their object was the extinction of the slave-trade, and in order to effect that object they should put an end to slavery in America; and in order to put down slavery in America they should remove it from the church of America—(Hear, hear, hear.)—and in order to remove it from the church of America it appeared to him that the strongest recommendations on the subject should go forth from the convention. The church was the main prop of slavery in the United States.—(Hear, hear.) The demon of slavery had found a haunt, a shelter, and a defence, not so much he believed under the presidential or the professorial chair, as under the altar of the Lord and in the house of God. It was, therefore, their duty to do something which would tell on the church.—(Hear, hear.) The question was a moral one, and they all knew that the church of God professed to be based on moral grounds, and that a moral influence perpetually proceeded from it either for evil or for good. It appeared to him therefore that they should do something which would act on the professors of religion, and he did not know anything more likely to effect that end than a temperate but firm and uncompromising recommendation, such as that alluded to in the resolution then under the consideration of the meeting. He belonged himself to a denomination proverbially sensitive as to its rights as a church—a denomination which would allow no invasion of those rights, and which would set at defiance that convention, or any other body which might attempt to dictate to its members the terms of communion: but they were prepared to listen to recommendations, and especially to recommendations emanating from such a body as that which he then addressed. He would still say that the suggestion of Mr. Binney deserved the grave and serious consideration of the committee when it came before them. The slave-holders sheltered themselves under the pretended sanction of the scriptures, and would tell them that there were slave-holders in communion with the primitive church. He would meet them on that ground, by showing that modern slavery bore no analogy to



that which prevailed then; and besides there was not the same light to reveal its enormity as now. He thought that it would be wise to take up that suggestion. Their object should be to produce an impression on the public mind, and to convince parties that slavery, as it existed at the present day, was a sin, and such a sin as ought to exclude its authors from communion with their fellow-men. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. G. THOMPSON was anxious to notice the fact to which the Rev. Mr. Binney had alluded—that there had been slave-holders among the primitive christians, and in the time of the apostles; and to allude to the statement of another gentleman, that specific directions had been given by St. Paul to slaves to obey the precepts of their masters. He did not think that either of these observations should be permitted to escape notice in a meeting like that before him, lest any individual who had not given the same consideration to the subject as others among them had been obliged to do, should depart without that information which might enable him to come to a satisfactory conclusion on that very difficult and oft-debated point. He granted that there had been slave-holders among the professors of christianity in the time of the apostles—he admitted also with the Rev. Mr. James, that the characteristics of slavery at the time of the apostles differed in many important points from the characteristics of that slavery which they were now denouncing; but it appeared to him that there were other circumstances of equal or even greater importance to be taken into account. The first of these was, that if St. Paul had not denounced slavery specifically, and if he had not authoritatively enjoined on masters the liberation of their slaves, he was silent on that subject, as he had been silent on many others respecting which there had never been any doubt from the time that christianity had been first propagated in the world. St. Paul was not sent to be an anti-slavery lecturer; he had been appointed to preach a new religion, or at least a religion which, in the fulness of time, had been developed for the regeneration of men. But he thought that they should bear in mind that the precepts of Christianity, including the precepts of St. Paul, gave lessons above all for the general conduct of mankind. St. Paul did not go about denouncing specific sins, and prescribing specific penalties for them, but he laid down great principles according to which we might safely act on any particular occasion. It was so with the teachers of other doctrines. Sir Isaac Newton, when he developed to the world his system of astronomy, did not at the same time refute in detail every other system which the ignorance, or the superstition, or the vanity of men had formed, but he laid down great principles drawn from an accurate observation of the laws of nature, by which he overturned every system which previous philosophers had established. He (Mr. Thompson) was still prepared to teach with St. Paul, that slaves should not effect their liberation by violence, or by the application of physical force; and he did not know an abolitionist who would not be ready to tell slaves, in the language of the apostle, that being slaves, they should not care for it, for that they had a master in heaven who had smitten from their limbs the fetters of a baser bondage, but that if they could purchase their freedom they might do so. He thought that the lessons of St. Paul to slaves offered a striking illustration of the peaceful spirit of christianity. But on the other hand, did the apostle give no instructions to masters? Mr. THOMPSON was proceeding when

The venerable Chairman left the meeting, apparently overcome by fatigue.

Mr. J. STURGE then took the chair, and

Mr. THOMPSON then continued. He had said that the apostle Paul had addressed precepts to slaves providing for the safety of their masters and their property, but he had also addressed precepts to masters. And here he (Mr. Thompson) would take the opportunity of complaining of the modern practice of appealing to the scriptures in America. He knew that there were hundreds of preachers in the south, who were exceedingly fond of searching the writings of St. Paul wherever he might refer to the duties of slaves, but who seemed to have completely forgotten the other precepts of the apostle. What did St. Paul say to masters? What was involved in the words, "The labourer is worthy of his hire?" What in the words, "Let no man go beyond and defraud his brother in any matter, for the Lord will be the avenger of all such?" What, again, in that grand christian rule, that drunkards and other bad characters, including extortioners, should have no place in the church? He contended, that if the teachers of christianity acted on those principles, they would be bound to break the fetters of the slave, and he found an illustration of the manner in which those principles were understood by the primitive christians, in the fact that, three centuries after the establishment of christianity, slavery was unknown throughout the west of Europe. He had made those remarks in consequence of the statement of Mr. Binney, that slavery had existed in the early church. He would next pass to the matter more immediately under the consideration of the meeting, namely, the propriety of nominating a committee for the purpose of drawing up certain resolutions recommending christian churches to make slave-holding a matter of church discipline. Such a recommendation would be no novelty to the church on the other side of the Atlantic. They already exercised such a power on many subjects by no means so important in his (Mr. Thompson's) estimation as slave-holding. Many of them exercised church discipline in reference to persons who distilled or vended ardent spirits, and they excluded such parties from their communion. (Hear.) Many of them would not allow gamblers a place in their church, nor would they allow it to those who dug up and sold the bodies of the dead; and yet they would receive among them those who ran away with and sold the living men. (Hear, hear.) Their respect for the inanimate corpse of the negro was greater than their respect for the animated and intelligent being who might stand before them. (Hear, hear.) It would, he repeated, be no new thing to the churches of America, to receive such a recommendation as that to which he had referred, for they had already received similar recommendations from assemblies far less august than that which he had then the honour to address. Some denominations had acted on those recommendations. The Reformed Presbyterians, so early as the year 1801, had agreed to exclude from their body those who were guilty of slave-holding; and the Free-will Baptists had more recently adopted a resolution to the same effect. Since he (Mr. Thompson) had left America, the cause of abolition had been winning its widening way there down to the present time, when they had met together from so many various parts; and now the eyes of the churches of America were on them. Slavery in the abstract had already been denounced by many of those churches, but they had still continued in this world of abstractions to permit the slavery of their fellow-men. Let them,

then quit the world of abstraction, and come to the world of every-day life. Let them cease to discuss principles which were admitted in the abstract by their adversaries in common with themselves. Let them descend from that sublime region, in which their adversaries were ready to accompany them. Let them stigmatize as unchristian the act of slave-holding, bearing with them, [like] thunder-bolts from the clouds in which they had so long dwelt, those principles which might smite the enemies of the rights of man. (Cheers.) They would have to deal with a large body of Christians in America, who were misled by those to whom they looked up for counsel and example. There were multitudes of the common people there who were content to be slave-holders, because Dr. A. or Mr. B. were slave-holders too, and because those gentlemen, after flogging their slaves well at home, went to church and preached equally well. (Laughter.) They had their representatives from all the great Christian denominations, and, if they followed the course which was then proposed, they would extort a respect for their opinions not only from the common people, but from those who moved in higher spheres. One word more about St. Paul. Suppose the apostle had gone into an American church, and found his own writings spread out on the desk from which Christianity was preached, would he, after his precepts had been so long revered, and after they had been raised to the highest place in the judgment and the veneration of men, have gone back to first principles, and contented himself with merely laying the foundation of true morality? No, he would "lay righteousness to the line, and judgment to the plummet," and he would overturn the whole fabric of slavery, from its summit to its lowest foundation. (Hear, hear.) The question before them was the most important, he considered, that could be brought under their consideration. (Hear, hear.) They would, by adopting the resolution, pronounce slavery to be essentially sinful. They should also call on every Christian to abandon it, and on every Christian denomination to exert its prerogatives over those who had neglected the weightier matters of the law, "judgment, justice, and mercy;" and if they did so, his own impression was that they would direct the attention of thousands on the other side of the Atlantic to the subject, and that they would convert the pulpits of America, now the most successful pedestals from which the demon of slavery exerted its influence, into fitting receptacles for those who were representatives of that great Master, who came to preach deliverance to captives, and the opening of their prisons to them that were in chains. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. C. BIRT said, that the slavery of the present day, was unquestionably of a totally different character from that of former times; and the apostle had no doubt laid down principles which were calculated in their progress to overturn slavery of every kind. In the city of Bristol, the members of the communion to which he belonged had framed a formal resolution to the effect that they would not extend their fellowship to any Americans who might come among them, unless they were ready to profess, not only their abhorrence of slavery in the abstract, but also their determination to use all their influence for its extinction in America, and throughout the rest of the world. He was certainly most anxious that the subject then under their consideration, should go before a committee, and he would give his cordial support to the resolution.

It being then two o'clock—

Mr. TURNBULL moved that the meeting should adjourn till four, with an understanding that the subject should come under discussion again.

After a short conversation, the question of the adjournment of the meeting was put, and negatived by a large majority.

A discussion then arose as to whether the meeting should immediately proceed to divide on the main question.

The CHAIRMAN said that he had certainly put the question of the adjournment with the impression that, if it were not carried, the meeting should immediately divide on the other question.

Several delegates wished to know if there would be a further opportunity of discussing the subject when the report of the committee was brought in.

The CHAIRMAN said that he apprehended there would be an opportunity for such discussion.

Mr. G. THOMPSON was also of opinion that the principle would again come under their consideration.

Mr. BROOKES said that there could be no doubt, as he thought, that slave-holders were not entitled to be received into communion with their fellow-christians; but it was another question to decide whether such a declaration should come from that meeting.

The Rev. Mr. STOVEL thought that all objections might be met by denouncing the system of modern slavery only, according to the suggestion of the Rev. Mr. Binney.

Captain STUART said it should be observed that the primitive christians were but subjects, while they were legislators. The primitive christians submitted to slavery, while the christians of the present day created it. He thought that was a distinction which should not be forgotten.

The CHAIRMAN then put the amendment on the main question, which had but few supporters; and the original motion, on being put, was carried with only a few dissentients.

The resolution was then agreed to, and the meeting adjourned till four o'clock.

On the re-assembling of the delegates in the afternoon sitting,

Mr. SCALES observed that a dislike had been expressed to the reading of papers. It was proposed that remaining papers should be withdrawn; but from the good which had resulted from the reading of the paper by Mr. Godwin, it was important that some of them, at least, should be presented to the convention. The meeting would now proceed to the subject of slavery in British India.

PROFESSOR ADAM, of Harvard University, Massachusetts, then stated that, knowing the purpose for which he had come to that meeting, and calling to mind that the purpose for which they had come, was to act, and not to speak, he had made it his purpose, in the document which he was about to present to them, to condense as much as possible the statements of facts in reference to the present state of slavery in British India.

The learned Professor then read the document, which was full of deeply interesting statements, and which produced a powerful impression upon the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN observed that the document to which they had listened, was rendered more interesting by the fact that the Professor had himself resided many years in British India.



Professor ADAM wished to suggest two or three remarks, on the general bearing of the subject. The English have visited India: the English have taken possession of India—by what means I will not now say—but they have taken possession; and they have subjected to themselves a vast amount of the population of India. And what is the condition of that population? As to religion—their state is the most degrading. As it regards their general condition—the general state of society; we see from the document which has been read, upon the truth of which you may depend, that they are also in a state of deep degradation. The English found the population in that condition. But was it to have been expected that the English government, of all the nations in the world, would have legalized the two systems of slavery which they found in existence? Was it to have been expected that Hindoo slavery, which had ceased to exist under the Mahometan government, should have been called into existence, have been reduced to form, have been legalized, by the British government? Was this to have been expected from our countrymen—from those who had carried their conquests—who had conveyed their science, their religion, to India? Surely such a course was not to have been expected; and other countries, and after ages, will at least declare that it was highly inconsistent—(hear, hear)—especially considering her loud boasts of freedom. But not only did the British government legalize Hindoo slavery, she has also retained in chains those whom she found in chains imposed upon them by preceding conquerors! Does it not become us who are now assembled from all parts of the world, to declare our belief that such a system should no longer be tolerated? (Hear, hear.) Is it not time that we, as a christian slavery-hating people, should express our determination that a system shall no longer exist—a system of slavery established by Hindoos and Mahometans? Surely you will do so. You will cause your voice to be heard; and it will be heard; it will go further, not only to the ends of this island, but to the very ends of the earth, and the results will be that we shall no longer be disgraced by such a system. (Hear.) Nor is this all. The British government is already pledged to do this. It has been so pledged for several years; but it has not redeemed its pledge. In the act of 1833, it was determined that slavery in India should be abolished; it was also provided that inquiry should be made as to the real condition of the slaves, and that such measures should be adopted as would lead to the extinction of slavery. The East India Company was desired to send home from time to time such laws and regulations as would lead to the abolition of slavery. The directions and provisions contained in the act of 1833 have hitherto proved a dead letter. Nothing has been done to mitigate the condition of the slaves, or to lead to the extinction of slavery. You have, therefore, strong, clear, defined ground upon which to proceed, and I earnestly hope that you will proceed, in spite of any obstacles which may be presented to your course—(Cheers.)

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER, I have been informed, on authority upon which I can rely, that an act was passed some years ago in the House of Commons, which had been acted upon, would have caused slavery long ago to have ceased to exist in the East Indies; but that on its being carried up to the House of Lords, a clause was struck out, at the suggestion of the Duke of Wellington, which rendered the bill comparatively null and void so far as slavery was concerned. That omission it seems was not noticed by Mr. Buxton, and hence he made no attempt to supply the deficiency. Perhaps some friend present could confirm that statement—(Hear.)

Mr. PEASE, of Darlington, said he believed that such a clause had been omitted in the way just stated. That slavery existed in British India, and that it existed to a considerable extent and under very painful circumstances, there could be no doubt whatever. They had abundant evidence to prove that fact. But what was the remedy? They had long talked of the evil; but what had they done to remove it? What had they accomplished? And why had they not accomplished all that they wished? One plain reason might be assigned, namely, that the government of this country had profited by the continuance of the system. (Hear.) Something more must be done. Daniel O'Connell was about to bring forth a motion in reference to slavery in British India. (Hear.) It was a fact that one-third of the land in British India was in the possession of wild beasts; a portion, which, if cultivated, would yield a sufficient quantity of food for the supply of the people's wants. The governor-general of India had declared that to be the case, namely, that one-third of the land was actually in the possession of wild beasts. Let petitions therefore be sent forth from every part of this country, that the natives of India may henceforth have possession of the soil, and be assisted to cultivate it for the supply of their own wants. Sufficient evidence upon the subject was taken in the committee of the House of Commons: it was proved that the land tax was most oppressive, leading to want and starvation, and compelling millions to become slaves for a long series of years. Mr. Pease said that he had stated these things before the directors of the East India Company; and he now hoped that the statements he had made would go forth to the country, and that abundance of petitions would be sent in to Parliament, praying that the one-third of the land, which was now in the possession of wild beasts might be brought into cultivation, that the wants of the human population might meet an adequate supply. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. Mr. JOHNSON said, he had been much struck with the accounts which he had recently heard as to East Indian slavery. He was anxious that the whole question might be brought fairly before them, that they might furnish their constituents with the true state of the case when they returned home. In order to promote the cause of slavery abolition he had been in the habit of inducing persons to abstain from the use of all articles which were produced by the labour of slaves. Such advice was very gallant to those who were concerned in upholding slavery, and he had reason to believe that it told much upon the system. He took no sugar at all himself; but to those of his friends who took it, he recommended the practice of taking only sugar which came from the East Indies; because he thought that the East India sugar was the produce of the labours of free men, now if it should go forth to the world that the larger portion of the labourers in the East Indies were under slavery, would not he, and those who acted as he did, appear as traducers? Was the sugar which was said to be the produce of free labour, really so? or was it the product of slave labour? He hoped that some gentleman present would be able to explain that point. (Hear.)

Mr. G. THOMPSON said, he believed it would be found on inquiry that the sugar in question was not the result of coerced labour. It (the sugar) really came from Bengal, it was not the produce of forced labour.

Professor ADAM said, as far as my observation has extended, the sugar sent from the East Indies to this country is produced chiefly in Bengal, and by free labourers. (Hear.) The principal portion of predial and agrestic slavery in India is in the southern part of India.

Captain STUART said, that all his experience and the evidence which he had obtained went to prove the correctness of the statements made by Professor Adam, and by George Thompson. The evidence which was given before the houses of Lords and Commons was complete to him, as proving that the sugar sent to this country from the East Indies was not sugar obtained by agrestic slavery, but by free labour. (Hear.)

Mr. J. EATON, of Bristol, said that there was a publication which might easily be obtained, a letter addressed to W. Whitmore, and to their late esteemed friend Zachary Macaulay, from which it would appear that the sugar sent from India to this country was the produce of free labour.

Mr. MOORE read some extracts from a work recently published by Mr. Peggs, illustrative of East India slavery. He was persuaded that the friends of emancipation would not relax their efforts until slavery in the East Indies was entirely abolished.

Mr. GEO. THOMPSON, begged to second the resolution. This was a very interesting question, and one on which he should take a future occasion of making some observations. He thought it highly proper that the subject should be referred to a committee.

Mr. R. PEEK, said that in a conversation which he had with a gentleman who had been thirty-four years in the East India Company's civil service, that gentleman admitted that slavery did exist in the East Indies to a considerable extent; but a committee had been sitting for the last two or three years, (laughter); and perhaps when they had sat a few years longer, and got sufficient information before them, something would be introduced gradually to remove it. He also stated that one great source of slavery in the East Indies was that of parents selling their own children, in consequence of the famine prevailing there, to preserve them from starvation. In one district the governor prohibited parents from thus disposing of their offspring, and thousands had died for the want of the necessaries of life.

The Rev. Mr. COLVER hoped that the committee would turn their attention to that source of slavery which arose from the grinding oppression of the inhabitants of India.

Mr. JAS. SANDS thought that great benefit would result from the consideration of the advantages of free labour.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

The Rev. Mr. BEVAN then read a paper on the moral influence of slavery on the character of the enslaver and the enslaved, and its opposition to the advancement of civilization, education, and christianity.

Mr. MORGAN read a letter from Dr. Channing, on American slavery.

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER, said that in the autumn of last year he had visited Denmark, and while there, he took an opportunity of inquiring into the state of slavery in the Danish colonies. The only work which had thrown any light on that subject was published by Sylvester Hovey, Letters on the West Indies. Slavery in the Danish West India colonies had been attended, as in all others, with a fearful loss of human life. In the island of St. Croix, during twenty-six years terminating in the year 1836, the population had diminished 7,000. The island of St. Thomas contained about 5000 slaves, was frequented to a considerable extent by those engaged in the slave trade, and this tended to perpetuate it. In the island of St. John's there were about 2000 slaves. It was considered that slavery in the Danish colonies was administered in the mildest manner, but the loss of human life showed the essential evil of the system. Moral and religious instruction was to a very great extent neglected. Even the Moravian mission, which had been established a century, (the missionaries having made themselves slaves in order to afford them an opportunity of carrying out their religious designs), had produced but little fruit. While in Denmark he met with the governor of the Danish West India Islands, who told him that, England having liberated her slaves, he had felt it was necessary to promote the better treatment of their own slaves, lest they should make their escape to the English Islands. During the time he (Mr. A.) was in that country the first anti-slavery society was established. He believed that the persons of whom it was composed were capable of serving the cause in no unimportant degree. While at Copenhagen, he was informed that certain measures were under the consideration of government, which would in various ways promote the benefit of the negro race. It was proposed, however, that the system of slavery should be guaranteed for twenty years.—(Hear, hear.) He wrote an address to the King of Denmark, which, through the kindness of one of the members of the committee, he had had an opportunity of placing in the hands of the then princess, now Queen of Denmark, and she was very likely to take a deep interest in the question. To the present King of Denmark he had endeavoured to point out what had been the results of abolition in the West Indies, and which were different to those which had been previously represented to his majesty. On the whole, he hoped, that something had been done in promoting the abolition of slavery in the Danish colonies. One circumstance which rendered it extremely probable was, that Denmark was the first European nation which abolished the slave trade.—(Cheers.)

Mr. D. TURNBULL, stated his opinions regarding the comparative severity of slavery in Denmark, America, and the French West India Islands. He also called attention to the anomalous position of Crabb Island. It was not defined whether it belonged to England, Denmark or Spain.

Mr. PRESCOT thought that Crabb Island belonged to England, and therefore that the slaves were entitled to their freedom.

After a few observations from two or three delegates on the diminution of life in slave colonies

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER moved,

That Wm. Forster, George Stacey Esqrs., and the mover and seconder be appointed a committee to take into consideration the facts stated by Mr. Alexander and others with regard to the Danish Islands, and report on the same.

Mr. D. TURNBULL, seconded the resolution, which was put and agreed to.

The Convention adjourned until Monday.



MONDAY, JUNE 15TH.

THE proceedings commenced under the presidency of Robert K. Greville, L.L.D.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. F. Buxton called in to give a friendly visit; and it was stated that he would return as soon as he had fulfilled a previous engagement. (Hear, hear.)

Sir E. Wilnot also appeared, and was well received.

Mr. Forster addressed a few observations to the convention, as to the order of their proceedings.

The Secretary then stated the programme of the business.

Mr. Boulton said, he was anxious to adopt the advice of their zealous friend, Mr. O'Connell, to follow practical measures. He felt the great importance of diffusing full and correct information as to the immense benefits which would result, even to the planters, from the abolition of slavery. With that view he moved—

"That a committee consisting of Messrs. John Cropper, Josiah Conder, and John Sturge, be appointed to collect and arrange facts on the advantages of free over slave labour, and to report thereon, such report to detail the most effectual means for securing the adoption of free labour."

Mr. William Kay seconded the motion, which was unanimously carried. S. Bowley, Esq., moved—

"That a committee be appointed consisting of Messrs. Knibb, Prescod, Capt. Stuart, Messrs. W. Anderson, and W. W. Morgan, with power to add to their number, to obtain and arrange evidence on the results of emancipation in the British colonies, and that they report a resolution thereon, and that they consider and report the measures now necessary for securing and rendering permanent freedom in said colonies."

J. G. Burnie, Esq., of New York, was then called upon to introduce the subject of American slavery. He had been one of the committee appointed to digest and prepare the question, but they had not had time to produce it in the most compact form. They would, however, detail the principal points on which they wished the action of the convention, and the whole might be a pretty fair view of American slavery. He would state as succinctly as possible the different relations of the American Central and State Governments, the various orbits, so to speak, of which were often confounded—(Hear, hear.) The 13 colonies, before the declaration of independence, acted under incorporations; they then adopted each its own form of State Government. In 1788, the second year after the struggle for independence, there were articles of confederation, the experiment of which satisfied the people that it was not sufficient for all government purposes, and with the advice of General Washington, a more compact union was adopted, for the States could each make war or peace, coin money, &c., without reference to the whole. The attempt was made to form what was now called the constitution of the United States. To this end there was a convention in 1789, composed of delegates selected by the people at large. They were to confer such powers as they thought proper on the general government, the remaining powers being reserved for the local governments. Thus, so far from the constitution of the United States being the original, it was merely secondary, and could only carry out the powers which had been conferred upon it. For instance, as to collecting revenue, the power was conferred, the means, though not defined, following, as far as necessary. Now, complaints had occurred of the central government not sufficiently repressing abuses, as of slavery; but the reason was that the requisite power had not been conferred upon it. From 1787 there was a general opinion that slavery should not be of long duration; hence slavery was not mentioned in the constitution. (Hear, hear, from Mr. O'Connell.) He would not dwell minutely on the present state of public feeling, or the conduct of congress for past years on the subject, but on the reason why the influence of slavery had so far guided and governed powers intended for the preservation of liberty. Prior to 1787 the cotton manufacture had not advanced to any great extent, so that the demand for slave labour had not been large. Massachusetts alone had adopted a glorious principle of freedom, which eventually triumphed over slavery. In the other states, no obstacle had been then interposed to what it was unwisely hoped would have been the gradual extinction of slavery. Hence the inutility of yielding to expediency in opposition to principle. (Hear, hear.) Such minds as Franklin had been deceived by the delusion, and were not prepared for the event which upset all their expectations, namely, the invention in 1793 of the cotton gin, which greatly increased the productive powers of labour—the labour of 1000 hands being performed by one. This opened a door to a prodigious demand for what otherwise would have been a slight article of trade. From that moment might be traced the influence of slavery on the public mind, and the general government. (Hear.) This did not of course allow of any excuse to the Government for not acting when they could, particularly for not preventing the re-delivery of slaves escaped to free states. Congress had also the right (though not undisputed by slave holders) of abolishing slavery in Colombia, where there were 6,000 or 7,000 slaves. So, also, in the territories, as they were called, in opposition to the states—as in the territory of Florida. No excuse could be offered for the neglect of congress on those subjects. Now for the immediate object to be presented to the convention. The slave-holding interest in America was to be distinguished from the great mass of public opinion, which was opposed to them—(hear, hear, hear)—and this interest was greatly alarmed at the agitation upon the subject, but trusted to the influence of self-interest on the government of America to maintain the system. To this end the slave-holders were always endeavouring by every means to commit the Government to the maintenance of that system. In the prosecution of this design, they had tried to commit the Government to a claim for compensation against the British Government on account of slaves liberated through their having been thrown by stress of weather on the coasts of British settlements. Negotiations had accordingly been carried on between the two Governments on this subject, which had terminated thus:—In cases before the emancipation act the British government agreed to give proper compensation. In another case, which occurred since the act the British Government refused, declaring that they would not recognize any property in human kind.—(Loud cheers.) In this state of the case Mr. Calhoun moved, in the American senate, the following resolution: "That ships on the high seas, in the time of peace, engaged in lawful traffic, are, according to the laws of nations, under the exclusive jurisdiction of the State to which they belong, as much so as if constituting a part of its own dominion, and that if such ships be cast by stress of

weather or other unavoidable cause into the port of any friendly power, they are under the same laws, and the persons and property on board are under the protection of those laws: and further that the brig Enterprise (the slave-ship in question, the last of those negotiated about,) having been forced into a part of the Bermudas, while on a lawful voyage from an American port, is embraced within the principle laid down in these resolutions, and that the detention of the negroes on board that vessel, and their subsequent liberation, were in violation of the laws of nations, and unjust to American citizens." These resolutions were substantially agreed to, March 13, 1840, with no dissenting voice.—(Hear, hear.) The object of these resolutions was not so much the expectation (which could hardly be entertained) that foreign States would bring the rights (so called) of slave-holders into the laws of nations, as to commit the American Government to the support of slave-holders' claims. Now it was a most important thing that this convention should admonish England and the world of the real design and effect of the doctrines set forth in these resolutions—(Hear, hear, hear.)—and expose the flagitious principles involved in them.—(Cheers.) With this view he should move a preamble and certain resolutions, to express the sense of the convention upon the subject. He would here state that congress did really possess the power of preventing the carrying on of the infamous slave trade; for though the power to abolish internal and domestic slavery had not been conferred in the congress, there had been expressly reserved to them the power of regulating commerce, not only with foreign states, but with other states of the union. And the best jurists of America held that this enabled them to put down the traffic in slavery by their own citizens. Now, in respect to the means of influencing the public mind to the suppression of slavery in America, he wished to observe that the main difficulty was in bringing before the public the real state of the question; and the diffusion by the press of information, and appeals upon it, was one of the most powerful influences that could be brought to bear on behalf of the abolition cause.—(Hear, hear.) The legislative body of the union was completely under the dominion of the slave-holders, who, by a refinement of criminal ingenuity, were actually entitled to the elective franchise in proportion to the slaves they possessed that is, five slaves gave three votes.—(Loud expressions of surprise and indignation.) Thus in the Senate there was a slave party of twenty-four that could turn any of the great state questions of policy. (Hear, hear, hear.) A very important element in the consideration of this subject was the proposed annexation of Texas—(hear, hear)—an attempted act of violence and wrong, which, if it had been successful, would have rendered the abolition cause less hopeful than ever. Blessed be Providence, however, that the project had not succeeded; and this was one among the many proofs of the greatly beneficial results which followed from the exertion of the influence of other nations on the side of justice and humanity, and sound policy. Let it be effort of this country, then, who would be followed by France in the noble example—(cheers)—and then by other European states, to exert all possible influence on the American people to induce the abolition of the slave system. That system was only to be reached by the influence of external appliances; for the result of a long experience in American abolition exertions enabled him sorrowfully yet confidently to state, that, unaided by such external influences, the exertions of the American abolitionists would be hopeless. (Hear, hear, hear.) How then was this external influence to be exerted on our part? Let us exhibit to America the glorious spectacle of our emancipated negroes in the British colonies—especially the West Indies—supplied with all the advantages of education, and right moral training, and religious instruction—peaceful, prosperous, happy communities; and when the noble example should have been imitated by other European states, the principles of freedom carried out with worthy emulation in all their colonies, and the beneficial results indisputably demonstrated, then indeed would the system of slavery even in America begin to tremble under the mighty force of public feeling, and the crisis would not be far distant when it would for ever fall.—(Loud cheers.) This was the crisis so ardently desired by the abolitionists, and to bring it about it was necessary to influence the mind of England here, which would produce action on the part of its Government. That could not fail to tell powerfully on the mind of France, and she would influence Spain; and so the mighty and the noble spirit of freedom would travel through the globe.—(Loud cheers.) In this view he begged to propose to the convention the consideration of the following resolutions:—

"Whereas, since the termination of the negotiations of the American with the British Government, under which the British Government refused to grant indemnity for certain slaves who, on their passage from certain ports in the United States to other ports within the same, where providentially cast on the Bahama and the Bermuda Islands, and, therefore, made free by the operation of British law, the slave holding interest in the United States is attempting, in the congress of the United States, to stir up the American Government to resist the principle on which such indemnity was refused. And whereas, in the prosecution of this attempt a resolution was recently received in the house of Representatives of the United States, urging that Government to insist on an arrangement with the British government, by which slaves escaping from their masters in the United States into the British dependencies on the American continent should either be delivered up to their masters, or a full indemnity paid for them. And whereas, in the further prosecution of the said unjust object the Senate of the United States, by a resolution passed in April last, declared in effect that if an American ship or vessel carrying on the slave-trade from one of the ports of the United States to any other port within the same should be forced, by stress of weather or any other unavoidable cause, into the port and under the jurisdiction of a friendly power, she and her cargo, and the persons on board, with their property, and the rights belonging to their personal relations as established by the laws of the State to which they belong, would be placed under the Laws of Nations extended to the unfortunate under such circumstances. Wherefore,

"RESOLVED,—As the sense of this Convention, that the proposition embodied in said resolution, viz., to sustain by the sanction of public law, which is founded on the principles of natural justice and right, the pretensions of the slave system, which exists only by disregarding justice and annihilating right, is not only unchristian and absurd, but disrespectful to the common sense of mankind.

"RESOLVED.—That this, the first attempt known in the history of nations to convert the pretensions of slave-holders into rights, and as such to engraft them on the system of public law by which the intercourse of



nations is regulated, ought never to have emanated from the Senate of the people who, from a period of time coeval with their independent national existence, have asserted before the world, and in the most solemn manner, that all men are created equal, are entitled to their liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness.

"RESOLVED,—That to allow such a proposition as the one referred to, would be inconsistent with the honour and dignity of Great Britain, and of such of the other nations of the world as have either abolished slavery within their respective limits, or are, in good faith, proceeding so to do; that it is hostile to the avowed principles of that people among whom it has originated, and to the cause of humanity, with which, under God, all governments are solemnly charged."

Sir F. WILMOT and Mr. O'CONNELL rose together—the latter honourable and learned gentleman courteously gave way to the honourable baronet, who was cordially received. He said if anything could have induced him to interpose before the learned gentleman, who doubtless would soon address the convention, it was the satisfaction he felt at seconding an American. (Cheers.) From the time (said the honourable baronet) when I opposed the apprenticeship system—(cheers)—to the time when I placed the government in a minority of three on the apprenticeship—(cheers)—and the yet more recent time when I resisted them on the Hill Coolie question, (Hear, hear,) I have been hearty in your cause, and shall deem it my greatest honour to be a participator in your holy struggle.

Mr. O'CONNELL then rose and was greeted with the loudest and most general cheering. He said, after repeated mute acknowledgments of his reception, I have two excuses for my intrusion upon you,—first, I was alluded to by the hon. baronet—a more sincere friend of the cause does not breathe than himself—(cheers)—and next, as he said, he was happy as an Englishman to second an American, I am anxious to obtrude an Irishman upon you. (Laughter and cheers.) But I have another more important reason. The subject mooted by the hon. judge (for he is a judge) who has just addressed you, is one of international and constitutional law, and perhaps, as I am a lawyer, you will allow my experience in the subject to compensate for my want of ability. (Laughter and cheers.) The proposition of the American senate is inadmissible. It is an outrage on common sense—it is a violation of public honesty. (Cheers.) They claim—a property in man! Why, that is inconsistent with not only all constitutional law—and their own constitution above all—but with the eternal principles of justice. (Cheers.) How would they like that the blacks should do unto them as they delight to do unto the blacks? (Hear, hear.) I have not the heart to wish any man a slave; but really I am tempted almost to do it for once, and wish Calhoun a slave. (Laughter.) It would not, perhaps, be an inappropriate retribution for his infamous disposition to act with injustice, iniquity, and inhumanity, to subject him to the lash, which he would inflict on others. Oh how indignantly and pathetically he would plead on behalf of his outraged nature! (Laughter and cheers.) Why, some of you may recollect the case of the American Adams, who having been enslaved a few years in Africa the natives said he was only fit to be a slave! he was evidently inferior to their race—the whites were good for nothing but slavery—(roars of laughter)—to which he had been consigned four years. So you see how the rule would work if equally applied. (Hear, hear.) The proposition of Calhoun is untenable, even as an American proposition. (Hear, hear.) The resolutions of our friend, the worthy judge, set forth its inconsistency with the first clause of the American charter of Independence, which declares all men born equal; but there is a stronger word—it declares that all men have the same inalienable right to liberty;—yes, *inalienable* is the word. (Cheers.) That is the sacred basis of American independence—it is not confined to caste, colour, sect, or creed. (Hear, hear.) And from this spot I wish to rouse all the high and lofty mind of America. Republicanism necessarily gives a higher and a prouder station to the human mind than any other form of government. (Hear.) I am not comparing them as anything else at present, but history shows there is a pride of manliness about republicans, which, perhaps, is a consolation to them for many other things in which they may possibly be inferior. (Hear, hear.) But from this spot, I repeat, I wish to rouse all the honesty and pride of American manhood, and would that the voice of Europe would aid me in the appeal, and swell my feeble voice to one grand shout of indignation; and when these Americans point to their boasted Charter of Independence, exclaim, "Look at your PRACTICE!" But can there be held faith in man, when we find that to their vaunted principle of equality they solemnly pledge their lives, fortunes, and "sacred honour?" (Hear, hear.) Here is all the solemnity without the profanity of an oath, in sanction of a principle thus directly, dreadfully, diabolically violated. (Hear, hear.) America must know that all Europe is looking to her. (Hear, and cheers.) She must know that the world considers that her senate, her Calhouns, are, while attempting to assert their infamous claim of property in human kind, incurring the blackest of all stains, because carrying with it the imputation of personal dishonour—shall I say perjury—in the practical violation of a principle they have so solemnly sanctioned. (Loud cheers.) France and England without any violation of principle, might adopt such a resolution; but, in the case of America, it doubly dyed her in disgrace. He felt proud to say that they might pass and adopt as many such resolutions as they pleased; they would be all idle, all useless, because the British government had no power to acquiesce in any one of them. (Cheers.) The British government had no funds out of which they could grant compensation. No party in the state would ever propose a grant for such a purpose—the resolution was therefore idle. England had nobly paid twenty millions for the purpose of redeeming their black brethren; and now, wherever England's flag floated upon the breeze, there was glorious freedom. (Hear, hear.) The moment the foot of a bondman touched the shore of England, or any of her dependencies, his slavery vanished. (Loud cheering.) There is now no such thing known to the British law as that one man might have a property in his fellow-man—there was an act of parliament against such a crime. It had been often laid down that an act of parliament which was notoriously against justice and

humanity was void—he was afraid, however, that in practice that maxim was not cared for. (A laugh.) But no man, not one of any party whatever, would dare to come down to the House of Commons and propose a grant for the purpose of making compensation; if one could be found of any party whatever, he would be shouted down and scouted from society. It was impossible it could be done, because it was totally inconsistent with our law. All the states of Europe had now admitted the great evils of slavery; it had been admitted in France, and the cause of abolition was deeply indebted to a gentleman whom he had the pleasure of seeing present (M. M. Isambert, of the Chamber of Deputies of France.) The French were a glorious nation, they were very fond of glory, they were inferior to none. He wished to see no rivalry between them and us, except a rivalry to do good; it was a glorious rivalry, and although we might now good-humouredly taunt them and say, "You have not gone so far in the glorious cause as we," he trusted the day was not far distant, when our French neighbours might return the taunt and say, "We have gone before you now, and done better?" (Cheers.) Well, then, the government had not the power to pay the compensation, unless indeed they agreed to do so out of their own pockets, or out of their salaries—a thing that was not likely. (Laughter.) How, then, was it to be paid? There was but one way in which it could be done—that was, by a vote of the House of Commons; and God help the minister who made the proposition. (Cheers and laughter.) The senate of America showed an excessive desire to put forth a wicked claim for a horrible injustice, but it was one which it was lucky could not be carried into effect. No man detested war more than he did, for even war that was justifiable, and in its best form, was accompanied by thousands of murders and robberies. He hoped such a calamity would be spared them; but if anything short of the honour of the nation could justify recourse to such an expedient, it was the resolution read to the convention by the hon. and learned judge. He was truly rejoiced to hear from that able and excellent gentleman that the present agitation was striking terror into the hearts of the slave-mongers, and was calculated to do much good. They were a detestable race of aristocrats, who wanted to have property and ease also—who would not labour themselves, nor pay others for doing so; therefore they seized upon their fellow-men, and dared to call them their slaves. Even in Colombia, at the foot of the temple of freedom itself, the wretched negro was writhing under the lash of a brutal taskmaster, the negress was doomed to all the horrors of slavery, and the poor infant hanging at its mother's breast, good God! it also was a slave; that mother looked upon its smiling face in agony, and was almost tempted to wish it in a premature grave, because it was not a man, but a slave. Yet this happened in America! He said it with all respect for his American friends present, but he felt bound to say it, that upon the American escutcheon there was written in characters of blood, "We are patronizers of slavery, the necessary result of which is that we are perpetrators of robbery and murder." They might say, they had not the power to emancipate the slaves; but he would refer them to the Declaration of Independence and the constitution of 1787, and he would defy them to point out one single mention of slavery in either of the documents. (Cheers.) No man could deny the personal courage of the American people—there was not a braver nation upon the face of the earth; but there was not one man in the convention of 1787 who had the moral, he had almost said the immoral, courage to mention the word slavery. (Loud cheers.) Was slavery then to exist as a thing when they did not dare to pronounce its name? (Cheers.) Undoubtedly they met with the phrase of "persons held to labour" in those documents; but dare any one say that under those words slavery was meant? Any man entering into any contract for work, any one who gave his labour for an equivalent, was "held to labour," but did that make him a slave? But no, that was as near as they dared approach to slavery. There was nothing in the constitution but what was fair and just. Had they meant to acknowledge and sanction the existence of slavery, they would have done so boldly; they dared not, and as there was no mention made in the declaration of independence or the constitution of 1787, they must hold that it was not acknowledged by the constitution.—(Cheers.) Slavery was a deep crime which multiplied robbery and murder, but the Americans added hypocrisy to their other accomplishments. He flung it upon America that she stood in this predicament. They say they have no power to emancipate the slaves. He would whisper in their ears—Colombia.—(Cheers.) Colombia was not bound by any constitution—there they had the power if they pleased to use it. Then why come down upon him with such hypocrisy? They said they were the first gentlemen and the most enlightened legislature in the world.—(Laughter.) He would whisper Colombia to them. "You have the power to remove this foul blot—you have the authority—you have everything, in fact, but the will—that alone is wanting." He would now turn to a subject of congratulation—he alluded to those noble-hearted men and women in America, who through difficulties and dangers were hearty in the cause of abolition.—(Loud cheers.) He held them all as friends. He implored them to think him as one of their body.—(Cheers.) He wanted no higher station in the world, but he did covet the honour of becoming a brother among the American Abolitionists. Here the Abolitionists were in safety, and more honoured for their exertions by the good; here they were encouraged and cheered by the smiles of the fair; they were bound together by godlike truth. But far different was it with their friends in America; there they were vilified and insulted. Very lately did not a body of so called gentlemen—men who would call any one out to try rifle shooting who denied them that cognomen—break in upon the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, and assault them in the most cowardly manner? And where did this happen?—why, in Boston, enlightened Boston, the capital of a non-slave-holding state. The abolitionists here had nothing to complain of. In America they are met with the Cowie knife and lynch law. There had even been martyrs in the sacred cause, and their blood cried out, not for vengeance, but for mercy. The friends of the cause in which it was shed should not relax in their endeavours. No human being could be placed in a more glorious position than those Americans who are friends to the negro. He was delighted to be one of a convention in which so many of those brave and good women were—he trusted that their reception



## Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 17TH.

would be such that their zeal would be strengthened; it was a noble struggle they were engaged in, and they would yet raise a shout of liberty that would make their enemies tremble. Those brave and glorious women ought to have their names immortalised—(Cheers.) The habits of this country had forbid them from receiving female delegates, because of the ridicule which ignorant people would have thrown upon their proceedings; but although they had not received them as delegates were they the less to be esteemed or the less respected on that account, or at his age, he might be allowed to say, less loved? They all remembered Angelica Grimké, and her zeal in the cause of abolition, for which they owed a deep debt of gratitude. The societies in America were deeply persecuted, and were therefore deserving of every encouragement they could bestow upon them. Had he the ability he would tell them how deeply he loved and honoured America and the Americans; he loved their institutions, but he denounced the anathema of civilized Europe upon them as slave-holders; they ought not to be received in society. Even the American minister at our court was a slave-holder; whether he bred them for sale was still a disputed point, which he would not then enter into. The government of this country should refuse to have any dealings with him, and tell America that they would not receive any slave-holder or recognize him. He would tell them an anecdote. Last year a very well-dressed gentlemanlike person addressed him in the lobby of the house of commons, and said he was from America. He begged him (Mr. O'Connell) to afford him the means of hearing the debate. He said, with pleasure; but first let him ask him a question—from what state was he? Alabama. Was he a slave-owner? Yes. Then he (Mr. O'Connell) bowed and left him. (Laughter.) Now that was an example that ought to be followed. Hold no intercourse with a slave-holder. They might deal in business with him, but even then they must be cautious—(a laugh)—but they ought to be very scant of courtesy towards him until he had cleared himself of the foul spot. He wanted a declaration of that kind from the convention; they ought to proclaim to the slave-holders that as long as they were engaged in the accursed traffic they held them to be of a different race. Such a declaration from such a body would make the slave-holders tremble. He knew the bravery of the American nation, but still he wanted to frighten them by the powerful force of public sentiment. (Cheers.) In order to do so, they ought to lay hold of all that would assist them. The learned and hon. judge who had addressed them had himself set a splendid example to all the slave-holding world. (Cheers.) He had called their attention to Texas. It was only a few days ago that he met with a Texian newspaper, and, blessed be Heaven, it most cordially abused him. (Laughter.) He was as well abused in it as he had ever been in any one in this country. He read with delight in it that that "monster, O'Connell, had been the means of preventing the English government from acknowledging the Texas." (Laughter.) He, on reading it, took off his hat, and made a low bow, saying, "You do me too much honour, Mr. Texian." He would most cheerfully submit to any such attacks in such a cause. No party in England would dare to acknowledge such a nest of plundering pirates. (Cheers and laughter.) They actually stole the land, and their first act was to introduce slavery, which had been abolished by the Mexican congress, and they made a law by which it is impossible for any one to stir the abolition question for six years; and when they expired, no person could do so, unless he had the authority of three-fourths of the people. This put him in mind of a story told as having happened in chivalrous times. A knight was placed upon the top of a church, where he was to remain seven years. On the opposite end to him was placed a sheaf of wheat, and in the middle a needle, and he was to be fed by the wheat which the wind blew through the eye of the needle. (Laughter.) This man had as much chance of getting fat, as any person had of obtaining the consent of three-fourths of the Texians to consider the question of emancipation. The first acts of the robbers were to murder, systematically, all Indians, and to enslave the African. Only lately, seventeen chiefs had been induced, by some means to enter their town, and all of them were barbarously murdered. They might call him monster as long as they pleased, but so long as he had a tongue he would call them foul robbers and murderers; and he would never vote with any ministry who recognized them. (Cheers.) He felt deeply grateful for the attention they had been pleased to afford him. It was a glorious struggle they were engaged in—it was a holy cause; let them persevere, and sacred freedom's banner would soon float over emancipated America, and they would rejoice in the good work. (Loud cheers.)

## Advertisements.

For the benefit of the Widow of THOMAS PRINGLE, late Secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society.

In one vol. price 9s. 6d., cloth,

THE POETICAL WORKS of THOMAS PRINGLE,

With a memoir of his Life, by

LEITCH RITCHIE Esq.,

Also, price 10s. 6d., cloth,

NARRATIVE OF A RESIDENCE ON SOUTH AFRICA,

By THOMAS PRINGLE.

To be had by application to Mrs. Pringle, 21, Brunswick Parade, Islington.

## CAPTAIN CHARLES STUART.

It is with much pleasure we are able to state that an admirable likeness of this highly esteemed philanthropist has just been engraved by Mr. J. J. Penstone, from a painting by Mr. E. Kilvert of Bath, in the possession of W. T. Blair, Esq., of that city. Proofs on India paper at 10s. each—and prints at 5s., may be procured at Mr. Edmund Fry's, 4, Bishopsgate Without. We feel assured many of our friends will be glad to avail themselves of the opportunity of possessing a portrait of so zealous and indefatigable an advocate of the rights of the oppressed, and the more so, as it is intended that the profits arising from the sale shall be devoted to the cause of abolition.

SINCE our last publication the Anti-slavery Convention has met, and at the moment we write it is engaged in its deliberations. Large as those anticipations were, we can truly say that its assembling has not disappointed any of the anticipations which were formed of it.

The list which we publish to day, and to which additions will yet be made, exhibits the names of nearly five hundred constituent members, and comprehends not only men of various climes and colours—for men as black as ebony, and men *once slaves*, are there—but men of the highest distinction in various countries for virtue, talent, and philanthropy. The Hall was densely occupied with delegates, and a considerable number of ladies (including a band of distinguished female abolitionists from the United States,) as spectators, before the appointed hour on Friday and shortly after it the venerable CLARKSON entered, supported by William Allen, Joseph Sturge, and an American delegate, to open the convention, and to be installed as its president. The sight of this hoary champion of freedom was deeply affecting. Bowed down and trembling beneath the weight of years, he seemed to claim the sympathy due to the feeble; while the remembrance of his unbending principles and unfailing constancy strangely blended with this feeling the admiration due to a hero. The convention received him standing, with reverence rather than applause. A lady and a child accompanied him to the platform. And who were these? The former was the widow of his son, the latter his grandchild, the sole inheritor of his name, and representative of his house. With beautiful simplicity and pathos Mr. Sturge presented the lad to the convention, and said,

"I hope I shall not be wounding in the slightest degree, the delicacy of his widowed mother, in saying, that it is the dearest wish of her heart that her beloved and darling child should devote his life to the cause in which our dear friend has now worked for more than half a century. It is an interesting fact, which I did not know till last night, that this is the birth-day of the youthful Thomas Clarkson, who is now nine years of age. I believe that, in venturing to give expression to the prayer of my heart that the blessing of God may rest upon him, and that with the descent of the mantle of his venerable and venerated ancestor, a double portion of his spirit may rest upon him, it will be responded to by my friends who surround me. When many of us are removed to that bourn where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest, and where the distinctions of clime and colour will be swept away for ever, may he see that the Divine blessing has rested upon our exertions, and behold that happy day when the sun shall cease to rise upon a tyrant, or set upon a slave."

There was not a heart in the assembly that did not respond to this aspiration, and scarcely an eye that was not suffused with tears. It was a scene of thrilling domestic interest. For a moment the convention was like a family, and its members recollected only that they were husbands, parents, and children.

Mr. Clarkson's address on opening the convention was highly appropriate, and delivered with much energy. He called affectingly to mind, that he was one, and the only survivor of the little company who formed the committee for promoting the Abolition of the Slave Trade in the year 1787. And truly did he address to the assembly sentiments worthy of that noble band. Most heartily would the whole of them have joined in the language so fervently uttered by their venerable representative;—

"I have been permitted to come among you, and I rejoice in it, if I were only allowed to say in this place in reference to your future labours. Take courage, be not dismayed, go on, persevere to the last; you will always have pleasure from the thought of having done so. I myself can say with truth, that, though my body is fast going to decay, my heart beats as warmly in this sacred cause now, in the 81st year of my age, as it did at the age of 24 when I first took it up. And I can say further with truth, that if I had another life given me to live, I would devote it to the same object. So far for your encouragement and perseverance."

At an early stage of the proceedings entered Mr. O'Connell, as delegate for the Dublin Anti-slavery Society. He made some useful and important suggestions the first day, concerning the practical issues to which the deliberations of the convention should be conducted; but his principal effort hitherto, has been made on the subject of American slavery. This speech, in which his power of rebuke was exercised without restraint, will be found in the morning session of Monday, the 14th, and will be read with interest on both sides of the Atlantic. The speeches of the American delegates also on this occasion were highly creditable to them, and fully sustain the character for high principle and unflinching boldness which they have brought with them to this country. But we need not further particularize, as doubtless all persons interested in the great subjects under discussion will peruse the entire proceedings. On the whole we have much reason to be thankful, that the convention has begun and is proceeding well—well for those who have planned it—well for those who have taken so much pains to come to it—and well for the cause of freedom and humanity throughout the world. May the same kind providence which has shed blessings on its commencement, crown it with mercies till it close!

Printed by WILLIAM JOHNSTON, and RICHARD BARRETT, of 13, Mark Lane, in the Parish of All Hallows Staining, and City of London: and Published by LANCLOT WILD, of 13, Catherine Street, Strand, in the Parish of St. Mary-le-Strand, and City of Westminster, at 13, Catherine Street, Strand, aforesaid.—June 17th, 1840.